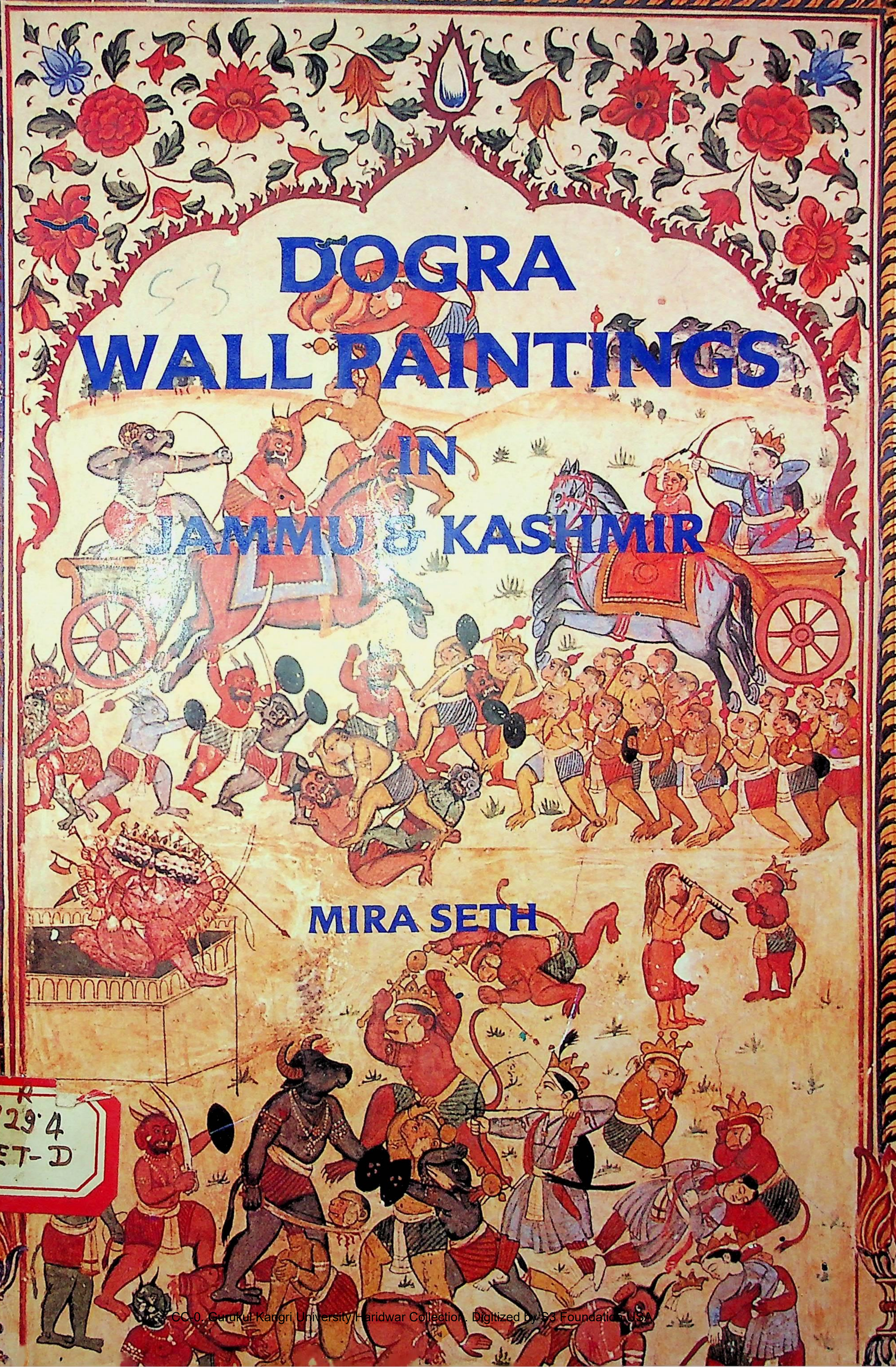


DOGRA WALL PAINTINGS IN JAMMU & KASHMIR

MIRA SETH

पुस्तकालय

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

वर्ग संख्या……… आगत संख्या……………

पुस्तक—वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित २० वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा १० पैसे के हिसाब से विलम्ब-दण्ड लगेगा।

DOGRA WALL PAINTINGS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

For my mother

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IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

MIRA SETH

DELHI
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PREFACE

A chance visit to Jammu and to the Raghunāth-Jī Mandir, Purani Mandi, in 1975 opened up a rich new world of paintings which no one had written about. Discussions with Mahānta Sitā Rām jī of the *mandir* and friends in the army led to a regular hunt for wall paintings in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The search was hazardous, as most of the temples and palaces in which these paintings are found are located in remote places, in difficult terrain and it requires physically arduous efforts to reach them. My trips in search of these paintings often assumed the shape of expeditions and required the logistic support of many well-wishers. In this regard I must mention my sister Suvita and brother-in-law Brigadier Ashok Luthra, then posted in Jammu, Colonel Vinod Sehgal and his wife Juhi and Jane Himmeth Singh. They escorted me on many trips with tiffin carriers of hot food, with good cheer and sympathetic encouragement. Sushma Chaudhary of the Jammu and Kashmir cadre of the Indian Administrative Service, and Mrs Kaul of the Social Welfare Department of Jammu and Kashmir also helped me in many ways. Pandit Sansar Chand Sharma, coming from an old artist family, once accompanied me to Rampur and on our return suffered injuries in a road accident. His interest in the paintings nevertheless persisted.

I had useful discussions on the book with Mr Karl Khandalavala.

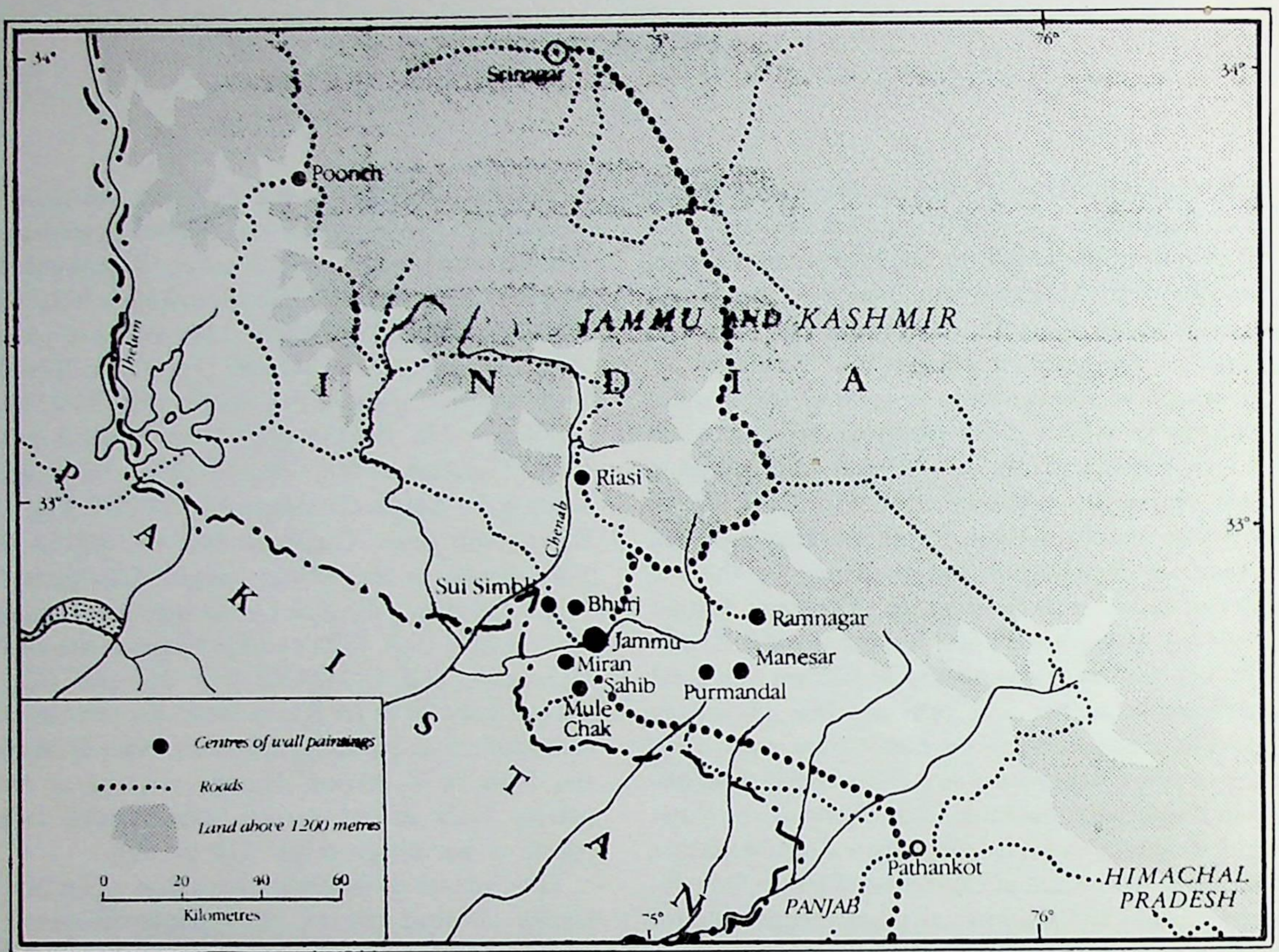
I am grateful to Shri Bhim Amar and Shri V. K. Gupta who accompanied me on various trips and took the photographs published in this book, and was of great practical help. I must thank my publishers, the Oxford University Press, for valuable discussions.

Thanks are due to the National Museum for permission to reproduce the following miniatures: Begum and companions hunting: Catalogue No. 51.207/EXIX (Fig. 1); Babar crossing a hilly track: Catalogue No. 2485.70 (Fig. 150): Babar storming a fort: Catalogue No. 2426.66 (Fig. 151); Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa: Catalogue No. 60.136 (Fig. 165); Viṣṇu: Catalogue No. 60/134 (Fig. 166); A royal procession: Catalogue No. 60.143 (Fig. 167); Rādhā waiting for Kṛṣṇa: Catalogue No. 58.21/9 (Fig. 180); Kṛṣṇa with *gopas*: Catalogue No. 49.19/825A (Fig. 177); Kṛṣṇa in the village *chaupal*: Catalogue No. 49.19/288 (Fig. 178); and Lovers meeting: Catalogue No. 58.21/4 (Fig. 179); and for Nepalese scrolls No. 48.5/12-A, and 47.11/2022 (Fig. 161 and 162).

I am grateful to Dr Karan Singh for permission to reproduce four paintings from the Nala–Damayanti set: Nala in a chariot, Narada arriving at Nala's palace, Nala in his garden, Damayanti's father's palace; a hermitage (Figs. 171 to 176).

The Curator of the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, has kindly allowed me to photograph miniatures of Maharaja Gulab Singh (Fig. 4); Maharaja Dhian Singh (Fig. 5) and Raja Suchet Singh (Fig. 6); and paintings on a wooden screen found in Maharaja Gulab Singh's old palace in Jammu (Figs. 146 to 149).

I am grateful to Dr B. N. Goswamy for the drawing of the spread of Pandit Seu's family (Fig. 154); to the Chandigarh State Museum for the portrait of Arjun, Ruldu and Kachnu, Accn. No. 451 (Fig. 8); and to the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, for permitting me to reproduce the painting of Yamaloka by Attra (Fig. 176).



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

Responsibility for the correctness of internal details shown on this map rests with the publisher.

Main centres of wall paintings

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Dogra wall paintings are located in the outer Himalayan range of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. As one approaches Jammu city from the plains of Panjab, the entire outer Himalayan range appears as undulating green and brown hills, gradually increasing in height, and accentuated by distant snow-capped peaks. These hills are dotted with villages and valleys where small townships have existed from time immemorial.

The main centres for these paintings are the valleys of Jammu, Udhampur, Dodha and Punch, most of which are irrigated by small stream and rivulets. The town of Jammu stands on the river Tawi, fairly close to the Beas. A variety of forests, along with grasslands, provide grazing for the pastoral tribes of the higher mountains who come down with their cattle to the valleys during the winter. Carpets of flowers—among them, daffodils and marigolds—bloom simultaneously in different parts of the region, which is subject to extraordinary variations of temperature and rainfall.

Of the many routes which lead to this area, the most popular one from very early times has been from Pathankot in the Panjab to Jammu.[1] Another route also used by foreign travellers like Moorcroft, approached the region through Chamba and Basholi from Garhwal.[2] These routes provided an excellent system of intercommunication for the area, and made this emerald set in pearls, rich in every natural resource, from the earliest times a legendary prize for invaders. It was, in addition, a cauldron fermenting with the constant cross-fertilization of ideas brought in by traders and intellectual adventurers.

The ancient name of this outer Himalayan region of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was Durgarā, which perhaps had a tribal derivation. It has been applied to the entire area in the outer hills between the rivers Ravi and Chenab. The original inhabitants of this area were most probably the *khāsas* and the *kanets* who inhabited the entire region of the western Himalaya. The region was subject to several tribal immigrations of people speaking the Dogrī language, which is classified as a dialect of Panjabi.[3] The language is akin to the Pahāḍī spoken in the neighbouring state of Himachal Pradesh, and appears to have been correctly related by Grierson in his classic *Linguistic Survey of India*, to Kangrī.[4] These Dogras claim to have come from the plains of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal before the Muslim invasion. The following major principalities and tribes belonging to the Dogrī linguistic group had come into existence in the area by the tenth century A.D.:

Jammu	Jamwal
Mankot	Mankotia
Jasrota	Jasrotia
Lakhanpur	Lakhanpuria
Samba	Sambial
Tirikot	Tiri Kotia
Akhnur	Akhnuria
Riasi	Riasial
Dalpatpur	Dalpatia
Bhau	Bhauwal
Bhoti	Bhatial
Chenehni	Hantal
Bandralta	Bandral
Basholi	Balauria
Bhadrawaha	Bhadrawahia
Bhadu	Bhaduwal
Kashtwar	Kashtwaria
Punch	Manjwal
Kotli	Mangral, and
Rajauri	Jaral.

The earliest form of settled government which the area saw was the rule of feudal chieftains called *rānās* and *thākurs*,[5] which gradually assumed a hereditary character through succession by primogeniture, and small ruling dynasties came into existence.

The rulers of these small hill states lived in serenely beautiful surroundings, often in difficult terrain, were absorbed in dance, music, painting and literary pursuits, yet were perenially enmeshed in fights and intrigues. Whenever a state became strong, it attacked and swallowed the smaller states. Thus, the boundaries and political alignments of the region were constantly in flux. There was at the same time

continuous trading and political interaction with the Kashmir valley. The Jammu *rājās* in particular seem to have had some contact with the *rājās* of the Kashmir valley during the time of Kalaśa and Bhikāshachara.[6] This region was also in close contact with other hill states of the western Himalaya which now fall in the state of Himachal Pradesh. Since the ruling clans of Himachal Pradesh also came from the plains, there were strong social and cultural ties between the Dogra *rājās* and those of Himachal Pradesh as well as with the people of the plains.

The Dogras were a handsome and artistic people who loved beautiful things. Specimens of the architecture and sculpture produced under their patronage exist in the temples at Krimchi, Babbor and in the fort at Bahu, although there is no evidence extant of paintings done before the Mughal period. There were two important historical factors which contributed to the development of painting in this area. The first was contact with the Muslims, and the second the emergence of a strong state in Jammu.

The Muslim impact eventually had a remarkable effect on the painting of this region. While the state of Punch was invaded by Mahmud of Ghazni,[7] Jammu, though it lay very near the route taken by him when he invaded the Panjab, was not actually attacked. However, the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* refers to Timur's invasion of Jammu and the conversion of Rājā Bhim to Islam. While this initial contact with the Muslims did not leave any lasting impression on the political or cultural history of the region, with the Mughals the story changed completely. The Mughals followed an aggressive policy towards the western Himalayan hill states: Akbar proclaimed his sovereignty over them and twenty-two hill chiefs, acknowledging his suzerainty, sent a prince each to the court of the Mughal as hostages for good conduct. The Mughals did not however have an easy time retaining their supremacy, as the hill *rājās* repeatedly revolted against them. The *rājās* of Jammu took part in the major revolts against the Mughals in A.D. 1588–9, 1594–5 and 1616–17. The *rājās* of Basholi resisted Akbar's armies under Zain Khan Koka in 1635–73.

Yet in cultural terms the visits of the hill *rājās* to the Mughal court paid rich dividends, for Dogra painting started after the Dogras came in contact with the Mughals. The home of origin was Basholi. Bhupat Pal (1598–1635) was the first *rājā* of Basholi to have any contact with the Mughals for he visited them as a prince and was kept in captivity by Jahangir from 1613 to 1627. He may have seen specimens of Mughal painting at that time but no samples of paintings produced under his patronage exist. His son Sangram Pal (1635–73) visited the Mughal court at the age of twelve. Since he was celebrated for his looks, he was taken to the royal harem and loaded with gifts by the *begums* of the Mughal emperor. It seems quite likely that he was also shown Mughal miniatures. He may have been a patron of miniature painting. From the reign of Kirpal Pal (1678–93), the number of paintings increases.

In Jammu, the earliest known paintings date from the time of Hari Dev (1660–90) and this tradition remained alive right up to the twentieth century. Schools of painting also sprang up in Jasrota, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Samba, Bhoti, Bandralta, Bhadrawaha, Punch and Rajauri, after these states came in contact with the Mughals.

The second factor we have noted was the state of Jammu, which achieved ascendancy over the other hill states in the eighteenth century, had a powerful and stable government, and consequently became an important centre for painting. The rise of Jammu begins with Dhruv Dev (1703–35) who unified the state of Jammu and brought the states of Jasrota, Basholi, Mankot and Bandralta firmly under his control. His four sons, Ranjit Dev, Ghansar Dev, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh, were all patrons of painting. What is of great interest to us is the statement of Kahn Singh Kalauria in his *History of Basholi*, that there were wall paintings in Balwant Singh's palace at Saruin.

Ranjit Dev (1735–81) was held a prisoner in Lahore from 1735 to 1747 as his loyalty to Mughal rule came into question. He declared his independence, however, when Mughal authority began to decline after the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. He proved to be a remarkable ruler and under him Jammu emerged as a powerful kingdom, which gave rise to the saying: *bāyaṅ vīch Jammu sirdār hai* (Jammu is the chief of the twenty-two hill states).

Ranjit Dev was a great patron of art. This was facilitated by the prosperity that resulted from his able administration. The *Gulābnāma* or life of Gulab Singh written by his prime minister, Kirpa Ram, mentions that Jammu had become a prosperous trading town.[9] An Englishman called Forster who travelled through these parts in 1783 also refers to its prospering trade and the regime's tolerance in religious matters.[10] Consequently, several political refugees found asylum in Jammu. Among them were Malka Zamānī, one of the queens of Mohammad Shah, a Mughal emperor; a widow of Mir Manu, the

Viceroy of Lahore; Hari Singh, the son of Rājā Kaura Mal, the *dīwān* of Mir Manu; and Dalpat Rai, son of Lakhpat Rai, *dīwān* of the Mughal Viceroy, Yahya Khan. It is possible that these refugees brought some late Mughal miniature paintings to this region; in fact the beautiful Jammu miniature of a princess out hunting with her companions, is believed to be a depiction of Begum Malka Zamānī (Fig. 1). The Mughal refugees definitely influenced the fashion in dress of both men and women as is evident from the miniatures painted after their arrival.

During the reign of Rañjit Dev, the Sikhs had risen with all the ferocity and vitality of newly-discovered strength in the Panjab. He managed to resist their attacks during the later years of his reign, but his successors were defeated, and Jammu was annexed by the Sikhs in 1812. The annexation of Basholi and the other smaller states of the region followed in quick succession. These events sent traumatic waves of both a political and a cultural nature throughout the region.

The Sikhs were however not destined to completely colonize the ancient kingdoms of Durgara Pradesh. By a sudden quirk of destiny the Rajput pride of this area was saved by a totally unexpected turn of events. This was the extraordinary rise of the three Dogra brothers—Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. They were aristocrats of royal blood, claiming descent from Surat Singh, the third son of Dhruv Dev.[11]

Kishore Singh, the father, and Zorawar Singh, the grandfather, of Gulab Singh had a small *jāgīr* at Dyawayo, near Jammu. Gulab Singh joined Ranjit Singh's army in v.s. 1867 (A.D. 1809).[12] He introduced his younger brothers Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh and his father Kishore Singh to the Sikh chief who also gave them employment (Fig. 2).

The three brothers became very powerful figures at the Sikh court. Gulab Singh became a great army commander and led the forces of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh in their expedition against Kashmir in 1812; he also assisted in the Sikh campaigns against Multan in 1819 and against the Yusuf Zais. Dhian Singh resided at the Sikh court and by skill and diplomacy rose to the office of prime minister in 1828 which he held till 1843. Suchet Singh, the youngest brother, became a general and a favourite courtier. Some idea of the importance of the three brothers at Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's court can be had from the envy with which they are referred to by almost all the foreign visitors to Ranjit Singh's court. The famous painting of the Lahore court by the Austrian painter, August Schoefft, reflects the importance of these brothers, placing them very close to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh in the *darbār*. Their distinctively arrogant stance and glittering costumes mark them out in this painting (Fig. 3).

The Dogra brothers were certainly both emotionally and politically close to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. In appreciation of their loyal services, Ranjit Singh gave the state of Jammu to Kishore Singh in 1820 and to Gulab Singh in 1821.[13] The kingdom of Punch was given to his brother Dhian Singh, and Suchet Singh was made *rājā* of Ramnagar. Hira Singh, Dhian Singh's son, who was a great favourite of Ranjit Singh's, was given Jasrota, Basholi and Bhadu as *jāgīrs*.

Gulab Singh also launched a military campaign in the hills by annexing Kashtwar, Mankotia, Chenehni, Bandralta, and Padar, a small province of Chamba. Zorawar Singh, Gulab Singh's famous general, conquered Ladakh in 1834 and conceived the grand design of conquering Tibet in 1840. He managed to occupy considerable tracts of Tibet, advancing 640 kilometres from Leh and going up to 24 kilometres on the western border of Nepal. The extreme snow and cold of Tibet, for which he was not prepared, eventually overcame him and in a pitched battle with the Tibetans at a height of 4,500 metres, he was defeated and killed.[14] Gulab Singh was also given by Ranjit Singh the *jāgīrs* of Bhera, Miani, Qadirabad, Dangi, Pind Dadda Khan, Jhelum and Gujarat at different times.

During Ranjit's lifetime Gulab Singh was the faithful subordinate, acknowledging that his rise and existence was entirely dependent on the pleasure of his master. After the death of Ranjit Singh, however, in 1839, the Sikh kingdom became a hotbed of intrigue, anarchy and wanton violence. The scenario that develops has all the elements of an oriental novel written by an occidental, emphasizing the oriental's incapacity to rule. There are passionate women like Chand Kaur and Bībī Jindan. There is the *Khālsā* (Sikh) army, conscious of its own prowess but blood-thirsty and manipulated by wily, depraved courtiers of the dead Ranjit Singh. Brave princes who had fought valiantly for the Sikhs are killed or murdered in the prime of life. An element of Greek tragedy is supplied by brother arraigned against brother and nephew against uncle. Dhian Singh was in fact murdered in a conspiracy hatched by the Sandhawallia *sardārs* in September 1843, while Suchet Singh was killed in March 1844 as he sided with a party opposed to Dalip Singh who was supported by

Suchet Singh's nephew Hira Singh. Soon after this Hira Singh was also to meet his death along with his cousin Randhir Singh, Gulab Singh's second son, in December 1844, as a result of Dalip Singh's intrigues. The honour and services of none were spared or recognized. The *Khālsā* invades Jammu and Gulab Singh is brought as a prisoner to Lahore. Every cunning trick is employed to murder the old lion, but he survives due to his popularity with the *Khālsā* and returns to his homeland to rule. When nemesis finally overtook the *Khālsā* in the Anglo-Sikh war, the wise old man was searched out to help the Sikhs conclude a treaty with the British in 1846. He also executed a separate treaty with the British in which he was recognized as an independent ruler of Jammu and its dependencies. Finally, before the curtain drops, in the epilogue, the brave old man is shown as a wily old fox who saves his own kingdom and even extends his dominion by buying Kashmir for seventy-five lakh rupees, which his old masters owed as an indemnity to the British.[15] With this the Dogras finally became the paramount power in the western Himalaya.

Gulab Singh, who was one of the most extraordinary men of nineteenth-century India, devised an excellent system of administration for his state. He toured his kingdom constantly, arranged for summary trials of corrupt officials,[16] abolished *begār* in Kashmir, reorganized the shawl department, and simplified the tax structure.

Gulab Singh's son, Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, who ascended the throne in 1858 during his father's lifetime, established an efficient system of administration for the state, dividing his kingdom into definite administrative regions. A reasonably efficient relief system was provided and operated during times of scarcity and the famous earthquakes of 1863 and 1884. He imported large quantities of wheat and sold it at nominal prices, even giving it free in deserving cases. Repressive measures like a levy or marriage-tax imposed in Kashmir during the time of the Sikhs were abolished, and the tax on shawl weavers reduced. What is most significant is Ranbir Singh's codification of the civil and criminal procedure laws of the state. He was also responsible for establishing an excellent system of education, with three main centres of learning located at the Raghunāth-Jī temple complex, the Ranbireshwari temple at Jammu, and Gadadhar-Jī temple at Uttarvehni. He introduced a system of almost free education with the state paying salaries to the teachers.

Ranbir Singh was succeeded in 1885, by his son Pratap Singh, who added the states of Hunza, Nagar and Yasia to the Dogra territory. Pratap Singh continued the family traditions of good government. He had a new settlement operation done in Kashmir and also passed a Municipal Act in 1885. He was responsible for setting up big colleges in Srinagar and Jammu. He was succeeded in 1925 by his nephew Hari Singh who ruled the state up to 1947.

The concept of polity that prevailed in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was similar to the political systems prevalent in other states of the western Himalaya. The divine right of kings to rule, and the principle of succession through primogeniture was recognized, with the *dīwāns* and ministers of rulers acting as checks on the exercise of arbitrary power. Jit Dev (1797–1812) was well served by his uncle Mian Mota as *dīwān*. Similarly, Gulab Singh and his son Ranbir Singh were greatly aided by their *dīwāns*—Amir Chand, Jwala Sahai, Kirparam and Anantram. These *dīwāns*, who originally came from Aminabad in Panjab, proved to be a family of distinguished administrators, diplomats and hereditary prime ministers under the Dogra rulers.

After the political and administrative consolidation of Jammu as the paramount power in this region, the stage was set for artistic patronage on a wider scale. It is no wonder that, although an extensive body of miniature painting exists before this period, the extant wall paintings date from the period of Gulab Singh. In order to understand the type of painting the Dogra *rājās* may have patronised, it is important to have at least a glimpse of their personalities. A number of painted portraits as well as travellers' accounts exist which serve to reveal them to us. As far as Mahārājā Gulab Singh is concerned, his portraits show him to be a man of above medium height, stockily built with aquiline Aryan features, the stance of the body showing great presence (Fig. 4). It is, however, the expression of his eyes which is the most revealing. He appears to be a very complex character; his deep and penetrating eyes reveal nothing but great caution. He does not look like an aesthete. Pannikar has correctly stated that he 'knew the value of gold in unsettled times and considered great expenditure on palaces and buildings to be a mere waste of money.'[17]

Accounts of western travellers who met him or visited Jammu just after his death are instructive. Jacquemont who visited him in April 1831 wrote: 'He is a lion in war but anything but a rose water dandy [a pun on his name]; he is a man of forty, remarkably handsome and with the simplest, most gentle and elegant manners.'[18] He also goes on to

narrate the *rājā*'s interest in botany and, above all, his craving to know everything about the west. He has mentioned that Gulab Singh could not read or write, but it is clear from his account that Gulab Singh was a highly cultured man with a deeply enquiring mind.

Frederic Drew, who visited Jammu soon after Gulab Singh's death, writes that 'The rise from low position to high position did not spoil him, that is, he did not become stuck up with pride nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity. Indeed he was familiar and free with all classes.'[19] He refers to this as his *bhalmansai* or decency. He speaks of Gulab Singh's avarice, which Cunningham also mentions, but goes on to say that he was an able and moderate man.[20]

Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh's younger brother, was also a patron of wall painting. His portraits show him to be a handsome and cultured man with a rather dandified beard (Fig. 5). According to Prinsep, 'He was tall, though slightly lame, and with a quick and intelligent eye, lofty, handsome forehead, aquiline features, modest and unassuming in his speech and deportment, polite and affable in his manners.'[21] G. T. de Vigne, a French traveller who visited Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's court, writes of Dhian Singh that 'he filled his office with ability and distinction, and perhaps, notwithstanding his faults, and a studied, but a dignified, insolence of demeanour, he was one of the best men and the finest fellows in the Punjab; which is not, however, saying much for him.'[22]

The third and youngest brother, Suchet Singh, is the most closely connected with our wall paintings. He was reputed to be the handsomest man in the Sikh army and a polished and gallant courtier, which his portraits amply bear out (Fig. 6). Foreign contemporary accounts agree with these views. Osborne thought him 'the very beau ideal of a Sikh chief'.[23] Gardner wrote about his being 'a splendid swordsman and the very pink of chivalry'.[24] McGregor found him 'a very handsome man, muscular, agile and well skilled in the use of the sword and matchlock; an excellent horseman; in short a complete soldier. In his dress Soochet Singh was particularly gorgeous and wore a profusion of jewels.'[25] It is said that most women, particularly the foreigners who came to the court of Ranjit Singh, were of the view that he was the only thing worth seeing in it. Suchet Singh reciprocated the compliment—he liked beautiful women and had a *zanānā* full of them. Inferior to his other two brothers in administrative and political skill, he had a true courtier's eye for beauty. He was known to be so fond of adorning himself that, according to the legend still prevalent in Jammu, he used to decorate his moustaches with diamonds. His fastidiousness combined with courage is best evidenced in the manner of his death. When he was surrounded by the *Khālsā* armies, refusing to surrender to them, a gardener presented him with a bouquet of flowers; he rewarded the gardener, decorated himself with the flowers and adorned the turbans of his close followers with them; all the while getting ready to fight to the death.[26]

Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, the son and successor of Gulab Singh, appears from his portraits to be a handsome man, but without the striking looks of his father and uncles (Fig. 7). He is depicted as a cautious and refined man. He was highly educated and had a scholarly bent of mind, with a special interest in Sanskrit and religion. According to an Englishman who met him, Ranbir Singh also had an atelier of artists.[27]

The social ideals which inspired royalty and their mode of life were bound to have an impact on the type of art that they patronized. It seems that formal education was held in general disdain, for the arts of reading and writing had little value among the Rajputs and aristocracy of that time. The most valued quality for a ruler was prowess in battle. It was this which determined the spirit of a king's rule and the amount of respect and effectiveness his administration commanded. Children of royal families were taught from a very early age the arts of archery, riding and the use of arms. A few princes, including Ranbir Singh and those of the Basholi royal family, were however well-bred men deeply interested in literature and books in general.

Holding the profession of arms to be one of the noblest pursuits of man, a powerful samurai code of chivalry emerged amongst the Rajput royalty and aristocracy. The highest ideal was death on the battlefield, sword in hand, after killing a hundred heroes in single combat. For such combats the Rajputs decked themselves in rich clothes and jewels, so that, according to local tradition, after death their bodies would be worth looting, and their corpses not kicked aside like those of paupers. Even when hopelessly outnumbered and outmatched in battle, the Rajput warrior preferred to die fighting to the last, rather than retreat ignobly. This was the stand taken by Suchet Singh and by Hira Singh in 1844.[28]

Another ideal was loyalty to king, superiors and kinsmen, and revenge of betrayal. Fidelity to king and superior is epitomised by the conduct of the three Dogra brothers towards Ranjit Singh both in battle and administration, even after his death. Gulab

Singh's general, Zorawar Singh, showed this devotion to him in Tibet when he laid down his life fighting against impossible odds. It was this homage to his father's memory which provoked Hira Singh, the son of Dhian Singh, to lay Ajit Singh Sandhawallia's head at his mother's feet—who believed that the son had done an honourable thing.[29]

One of the favourite activities of the *rājās* apart from war was hunting. Drew mentions that besides the *rājās* and members of the royal family, innumerable *mians* (collaterals) of the royal family, courtiers, *dīwāns*, retainers and other nobles, and a number of villagers took part in the hunt.[30] This exciting pursuit has been illustrated both in wall and miniature paintings.

The Dogra *rājās*, like Indian *rājās* through the centuries, keenly enjoyed music and dance. They also celebrated with pomp and zest the festivals of Lohrī, Holī, Dussehra, Basant Panchami and Nauroz. These themes are depicted in the few secular paintings done in Ramnagar Palace.

For any large-scale artistic activity to take place, a supporting economic base is necessary. As patronage depended to a great extent on royalty, their prosperity was of great importance. The economic resources of the *rājās* were apparently inexhaustible; Jammu had traditionally been a very rich state and when Timur invaded it, he mentioned that a large booty of grain and property fell into his hands.[31] As late as the eighteenth century, Maha Singh Sukarchakia, after his invasion of Jammu, took away with him wealth amounting to two crores of rupees.[32] Forster mentions that a revenue of twenty lakh rupees was earned annually from the province of Kashmir when he travelled there.[33] Gulab Singh's wealth assumed legendary proportions in his lifetime. It was generally believed that when he left the Lahore court, after defending Chand Kaur against Sher Singh, he took away with him sixteen carts filled with rupees and other silver coins while five hundred horsemen were each entrusted with a bag of gold mohurs, and his orderlies were also entrusted with jewellery and other valuable articles like the costly *pashmīnas* and rich wardrobes and best horses in Ranjit Singh's stables.[34] One of the reasons for the *Khālsā* armies attacking Gulab Singh after Ranjit Singh's death was this treasure. He was able to pay a heavy indemnity on behalf of the Sikhs to the British. His younger brother Dhian Singh and his nephew Hira Singh also amassed considerable wealth. Suchet Singh, the youngest brother, was similarly well off, as his brother and nephew fought to acquire a sum of fifteen lakhs which he had buried in Ferozepur in British India.[35] It is thus clear that the economic base of the Dogra *rājās* was strong enough to enable them to patronize the arts on an extensive scale.

The aristocracy consisted mostly of Rajputs and Kshatriyas. In the hierarchical aristocratic order, the youngest brothers of the king, his nephews and his collaterals took the first place. After that came powerful nobles who generally belonged to the Rajput caste. Occasionally, men of merit and wealth could also aspire to the aristocracy. The hereditary *dīwāns* of Jammu were considered grandees of the Jammu court though they were not Rajputs. The nobles and courtiers possessed vast *jāgīrs*. They lived in palatial mansions and were fond of singing and the dance; but their main preoccupation was warfare and hunting. Drew mentions that most houses in Jammu were single-storeyed but some big mansions built by merchants and the family of the chief minister did exist.[36] Rajputs who did not belong to the royal or aristocratic families also followed the same professions and pastimes as the former. Most of the land was owned by them. What is interesting from the point of view of artistic activity in this region is that the aristocrats and Rajputs emulated the example of their royal masters in patronising art.

Women are important motivators for the wall painting of this region, providing both models for the subjects illustrated in them, as well as patronage. The social status of women appears to have been ambiguous. The birth of a girl child was not welcomed.[37] Very little attention was paid to educating her in childhood except for teaching her Sanskrit, Dogrī and occasionally, religious lore. She was married off at a very early age, as a result of a family arrangement, without much regard to either her age or that of her prospective bridegroom.[38] The dowry system was prevalent among the higher castes. Lists of dowries given by *mahārājās* to their daughters exist in the Jammu *toshākhānā*. Gulab Singh gave to his only daughter who was married into a Bandral family, a dowry of one lakh, twenty-five thousand rupees. Ranbir Singh gave his daughter not only a lakh of rupees but several gold *mohurs*, eleven thousand dresses, household articles, elephants, horses, goats and a *jāgīr*.[39]

Polygamy appears to have been the norm for those who could afford it.[40] Rājā Ranjit Dev had five *rānīs*. Gulab Singh, his brother Dhian Singh, as well as his father Kishore Singh were monogamous. Suchet Singh, the younger brother, had three *rānīs*, Mahārājā Ranbir Singh had five *rānīs* and his son Pratap

Singh four. Hari Singh, the last important ruler, had three *rānīs*. It was often customary to have several female servants and concubines in the *zanānā*.

The customs of early marriage, dowry and polygamy resulted in *zanānā* politics. It was often common for girls to bring their sisters, cousins, or even nieces to their husband's families, as co-wives or as wives for their sons and other male relatives, to strengthen their own position in the *zanānā* and provide the much needed companionship of kith and kin. This combined with the custom of dowry had an important influence on styles in painting, as miniatures often formed a part of the dowry and hence styles travelled with princesses to the various courts of this region. Secondly, since the dowry brought by a woman was considered sacred and normally not taken by her male relatives, she could use it as she wished, for charity or for artistic activity. Ranbir Singh's *rānī*, Bhandrali, for instance built Raghunāth Jī's temple out of her own money.

Although *pardāh*[41] was customarily observed by Rajput women, *sati*[42] was often practised and widow remarriage was unheard of among the well-to-do classes. It appears that among the economically weaker sections of the community, women constituted a valuable working force. They even fetched money as bride price. They invariably worked for their livelihood, generally as maids for aristocratic ladies. Their contribution to artistic activity lies in the fact that they were often used as models in paintings as the aristocratic women depicted did not themselves appear before artists.

The picture of woman that finally emerges is that she had considerable economic independence, both among those who belonged to the aristocracy and the working class. Women were thus in a position to patronise art. The extent to which women patrons were able to choose the themes for paintings is not clear. It appears that artists painted conventional religious subjects in which women appear as Sītā, Rukminī, Rādhā and Śūrpaṇakhā or as maid servants. The only panels in which they figure as the central subject illustrate them as *nāyikās*. According to the prevalent literary concept of *rītī-kāla*, the poetic image of women was one of *sringāra-rāsa*, the only purpose of women's existence was to look beautiful, desirable and lovable. Hence the illustrations of *nāyikā-bheda*.

The business and trading community, consisting mostly of the *vaísya* caste, has always played a prominent role in the development of Indian art. Nineteenth-century Jammu and Kashmir witnessed a great resurgence in industrial and trading activities. Jammu and Kashmir have traditionally been known for their woollen and silk industries. Kashmiri shawls and blankets were in great demand under Muslim rule and aristocrats are often shown wearing them in miniatures. The traders of the East India Company popularised Kashmiri shawls in the west. Their popularity can be judged from the exhibits at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The nineteenth-century French painter, Ingres, has painted aristocratic French women wearing Kashmiri shawls. Ranbir Singh took several measures to stabilize the silk industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Mulberry plants were imported from China and distributed to silk-worm rearers. Training was given to reelers and rearers of silk-worms. It is known that paper was also produced here in large quantities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[43] Handicrafts made of wood and leather, pottery, and particularly jewellery were also of excellent quality. Carpet-making was an ancient trade in Kashmir as well as Jammu.[44] Mining, specially for sapphires, coal, iron, limestone and gypsum, was an established industry in Kashmir.[45]

The existence of various routes into the state of Jammu and Kashmir provided an excellent system of intercommunications for this area, which was an important place for trade and commodity flows. Caravans from the central Asian cities of Samarkand, Bukhara, Yarkand and Khotan met here with rugged Afghans and Panjabis, the more meditative Tibetans and an occasional Chinese in the *bazars* of Srinagar and Jammu, all in their native costumes, making the place both an international market and a cauldron of ideas. Most of the goods were carried on horseback but within the state, water routes and personal baggage carriers were also used. The *rājās* encouraged trading by offering protection to caravans and devising a judicious system of administration. Besides Jammu and Srinagar, markets also came into existence at Riasi, en route to Vaishno Devi, and at Punch and Bhadrawaha.

The trading and industrial classes, which were often linked, became prosperous and powerful as a result of the extensive encouragement given to trade and industry. They frequently gave loans to royalty and the aristocracy, and lived in a grand style imitating the upper classes.[46] They were always keen patrons of temple building which to them was a form of thanksgiving to God for the bounty showered on them. Temple construction and wall paintings[47] were

both patronised by them. They were also keen patrons of music and the dance.

There is not much evidence that people of other castes were patrons of wall painting. The Brahmins appear to have lived mostly by writing and government service; there is no indication that they were substantial land holders. The Rajputs considered themselves the patrons and protectors of the Brahmins, who were generally not in a position to patronise the art of painting. One of the temples built by a Brahmin at Purmandal has wall paintings, but this patronage seems to be due to the fact that he was a rich trader settled in Gujarat, and not because he was engaged in the hereditary functions of preaching, teaching and the performance of rituals generally associated with Brahmins.

Of the other castes, the Kshatriyas were soldiers and traders while the scheduled castes and tribes were mostly agricultural labourers and performed other menial tasks.

Most of the religious *maṭhas* that exist in this state are small and are not very rich. The *maṭha*, including those at Raghunāth Jī's *mandir* at Jammu, the *maṭha* attached to the temple at Bhurj and Sui Simbli and the *maṭha* at Manesar, were all built by the royal family and then given to the *mahantās*. No miniature paintings have been found in the possession of these *maṭhas*. As all of them were *vairāgī sampradāyas* and did not have large landholdings attached to them, there is little possibility of their ever having been patrons of art.

The linkage between the artist and the wall paintings he worked on is not yet precisely established. We do however know of some painter families who were employed in this region. The leading family of *chitrehras* of the western Himalaya during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was headed by Pandit Seu of Guler.[48] This family had branches in many small states in the western Himalaya, Panjab, and a few off-shoots living in Jammu. Nainsukh, Pandit Seu's son, worked for Balwant Singh, the youngest son of Dhruv Dev of Jammu, and then migrated to Basholi. He was employed by Rājā Amrit Pal of Basholi in the mid-eighteenth century, where his youngest son Rañjha also worked. Rañjha's sons, Gur Sahai and Sukh Dayal, worked in Jammu.

M. S. Randhawa has discovered a painting (Fig. 8) containing the portraits of three artists named Arjun, Ruldu and Kanchu. This painting has an inscription describing Arjun as '*Musavir Mulazama Mahārājā Sahib Jammu*' (employed by Mahārājā Sahib of Jammu).[49] The style of the turbans worn by these artists indicates that they belonged to the court of Ranbir Singh.[50]

According to Pandit Sansar Chand,[51] Jagat Ram Dube, whose nickname was Chuniya and who belonged to the Brahmin caste, was one of the best known artists of late nineteenth-century Jammu. Another celebrated name is that of the artist Haricharan, who perhaps belonged to the family of Sajnu, the famous painter of Mandi.

According to a local tradition, the artist who executed the paintings found in the *darbār* hall of the Ramnagar palace was Hiru *mistrī*, resident of Suneeta village, five kilometres from Ramnagar. He belonged to the *tarkhān* caste of carpenters and his descendants are still living in this village.

It therefore seems clear that at least three artist families of Kangra district had sent their sons to Jammu. There is no evidence, however, to link any of them with the wall paintings. These paintings have been done by several hands, and it is possible that there were families of artists who travelled from place to place as, according to the local tradition still recounted by old men, artists usually painted walls in one house and then shifted to another. Rām-Jī-*kā-Mandir* is supposed to have been painted by artists who came from Jaipur. The residents of village Mule Chak, Jammu Tehsil, still remember that Muslim *mistrīs* came and painted the local Rādhākṛṣṇa temple. Aziz, a Muslim artist, is also known to have done a few paintings in this area.

As far as the economic status of the artists is concerned, it appears that when they were attached to royalty, they were part of the royal household and were paid in cash as well as kind. It was quite common for established architects to be familiar not only with the art of architecture but also with that of painting, and they executed both kinds of commissions for their patrons. No land deeds are known to have been given to artists. According to most old residents of this area, they were generally paid in the form of grain.

The predominant motivation for the creation of wall paintings in this area was a religious one. The majority of wall paintings have been executed as homage to God, to adorn his abode, the temple. The people of this area, scared of the destructive aspect of nature, paid their homage to natural phenomena. Hill tops, genii, stones, springs and trees were venerated. Each household had a family *devī* or *devatā*, often an animistic god or goddess. *Nāga* worship was also common.

Next to the innermost beliefs of the people in su-

pernatural phenomena, comes a vague reverence for the concepts of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Śaivism seems to have been popular from the earliest times in this region and continued to command a vast following in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries among the Dogras. The *vairāgīs* of Manesar were Śaiva monks, as Forster noted.[52] In Basholi, Bhupat Pal (A.D. 1556–1635) appears to have been an ardent devotee of Śiva, building the Neelkantha Mahadev temple in that town. Mahārājā Gulab Singh built a temple to Śiva in Purmandal, and his entire family and descendants extended their patronage to the construction of Śiva temples.

The worship of *devī* as *śakti* had a very powerful appeal for the Hindu mind in this state; there are temples dedicated to *devī* all over. Vaishno Devi held unquestioned sway not only in Jammu and its environs but the reverberations of her influence have been felt in the remotest corners of India for several centuries.

Viṣṇu worship also flourished in the state from ancient times, as Kalhana goes so far as to say: 'There is no town, no village, no river, no sea and no island where Lalityaditya did not build a temple in honour of Viṣṇu.'[53] Viṣṇu shrines exist in the old capital of Jammu known as Babbor. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Vaiṣṇavism took the form of worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. It made its impact for the first time in this region in mediaeval times as testified by the existence of Vaiṣṇava *tilak* marks on the foreheads of Rājā Ananta Dev and Dhruv Dev of Jammu in their portraits. Similarly, Kṛṣṇa themes were being painted in Basholi in the middle of the seventeenth century and its ruler Sangram Pal (1635–73), was depicted with Vaiṣṇava *tilak* marks. It is probable that Vaiṣṇavism came here from western India.

The most popular Vaiṣṇava *vairāgī*, believed to have come here from Rajasthan, was Bābā Prem Dās Jī, in whose honour Gulab Singh built a shrine at Sui Simbli.

From the number of *maṭhas* of the *vairāgīs* of Ramananda *sampradāya* which have been built in the state, it appears that of the Vaiṣṇava gods Rāma was the most popular. The Jammu royal family not only claimed descent from *Surajvaṁsa* of Rāma but worshipped him as their family deity. Most urban dwellers were also his devotees.

Eclecticism in religious thought was in fact the keynote of the religion practised. The king and the people may have had different *ishtadevatās* (personal gods) but they habitually venerated all the other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. This eclecticism went to the extent of treating Muslims also with great tolerance. The Dogra *rājās* themselves established a tradition of respecting Muslim *faqīrs* and shrines. According to the *Gulabnama*, Suchet Singh consulted a Muslim recluse, Sain Alif Shah, before he left on his final journey to Lahore,[54] Ranbir Singh had respect for Mulla Rasool Shah of the Sind valley,[55] and the three Saiyads—Dastgir, Nakshbandh and Amir Kabir, were venerated by all. Nauroz, a Persian festival, was also celebrated by the Hindus. During the period of Sikh rule in Kashmir and Sikh influence over Jammu, the Hindus never thought of the Sikhs being different from themselves. They swore by the Granth Sahib, depicted Guru Nanak in their paintings but continued paying their most intimate homage to their *ishtadevatā* Rāma.

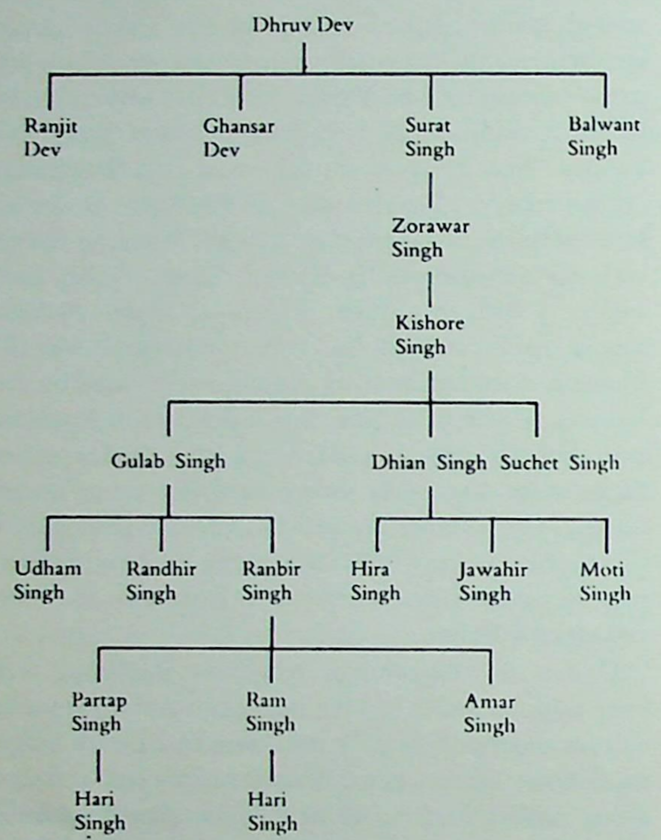
Going on *tīrth-yātrā* or religious pilgrimage was very popular and it had the important consequence of cultural intermingling. It is known that Gulab Singh went on a pilgrimage to Prayag and Gaya[56] and that along with Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh he built *dharamśālās* at Haridwar. Tīrth-yātrā was not confined only to royalty and the rich, but also to common people like these artists, as proved by B. N. Goswamy's researches into the genealogies of Pahāḍī artists, which are based mostly on the entries made by them in the *bahīs* of the *pāndās* of Haridwar.

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15. Ibid., p. 336.
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17. Ibid., p. 156
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26. *Gulabnama*, p. 249.
27. W. Simpson, *The Autobiography of William Simpson*, ed. G. Tyre Todd, London, 1903, p. 109.
28. *Gulabnama*, pp. 249–54.
29. Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Eurasia, New Delhi, 1964, p. 518. Muhammad Latif has recorded that Hira Singh's mother said on seeing the head of Ajit Singh Sandhawallia: 'When I see your father I will tell him that you acted as a brave and dutiful son'; and then commited *sati*.
30. Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 73–6.
31. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Vol. II, p. 29; Vol. III, pp. 468–72.
32. Prinsep, *Sikh Power in the Punjab*, pp. 245–7.
33. Forster, *Journey from Bengal*, vol. II, p. 29.
34. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 506–7.
35. *Gulabnama*, p. 320.
36. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 69. Drew states: 'but there rise up among them a few large houses, what may be called mansions which have been built by some of the great people or by the richer merchants of the place; the house of the family of the Chief Ministers, Dewan Jawala Sahai and his son Dewan Kirparam, specially is a large pile of buildings.'
37. Ibid., p. 77. Drew mentions that infanticide came to an end in A.D. 1846. Local tradition does not mention its existence, but it is possible that the custom was still prevalent.
38. Ibid., p. 71. Drew describes the marriage of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh's daughter and states that the bride was fifteen and the bridegroom was twenty and that 'the two were older than Hindu bride and bridegroom usually are'. We also know that Rani Bhandrali was thirteen and Ranbir Singh fifty-eight when they got married.
39. Ibid., pp. 77–82.
40. Of Rājā Ranjit Dev's five *rānīs*, two came from Katoch, two from Sialkot—one from the Rakwal family and the other from Silher—the fifth *rānī* came from Bhandral.

    Suchet Singh had three *rānīs*. One was from the Charak family, the other from the Silheri family and the name of the third *rānī* is not known. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh's five *rānīs* came from the Siba, Bilaspur, Ballauria, and Charat families and finally one from Bhandral.

    Pratap Singh had four *rānīs*, two from Chamba, one from the Pathania family of Nurpur, and the fourth from the Ballauria family.

    Hari Singh had three *rānīs*. The first came from Dharamkot but went back home after one visit to her in-laws; the second came from Rajasthan and the third from the Katoch family of Kangra.
41. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 79.

    Drew states that when Ranbir Singh's daughter's marriage was taking place, the mother of the bride was seated behind a curtain and was 'connected to her [daughter's] husband by a long piece of cloth and was made a partner in the rite.' George Forster in *Journey from Bengal to England*, p. 21, states that the wealthy observed *pardah*.

    Walter Lawrence, in *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 251, confirms this.

42. *Gulabnama*, p. 243.
He mentions that Rānī Sahiba Pathania, widow of Dhian Singh committed *sati* in Sambha and Suchet Singh's *rānīs* committed *sati* in front of his palace at Ramnagar.
43. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, p. 19.
44. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 377.
45. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Kashmir and Jammu*, Government Printing Press, p. 68.
46. Pannikar, *Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 25. Pannikar states that Diwan Amirchand, the Minister of Gulab Singh, raised money from a merchant in Jammu to put down a rebellion in Reasi.
47. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, p. 250. Forster states: 'The courtesans and female dancers of the Punjab and Kashmire area, a mixed breed of both these countries are beautiful women and are held in great estimation through all the northern parts of India. The merchants established at Jumoo, often become so fondly attached to a dancing girl, that neglecting, at her will the whole of their property; and I have seen them reduced to subsistence on charity; for these girls in the manner of their profession are profuse and rapacious.'
48. Goswamy, B.N., 'Pahari Painting, The Family as the Basis of Style', *Marg*, Vol. XXI, September 1968, No. 4, p. 18.
49. Randhawa, M. S., 'Kangra Artists, Art and Letters', *Marg*, 1956, Vol. XXIX, No. 1.
50. Dr. B.N. Goswamy states that Pandit Seu's grandson Gaudhu had a son named Sultanu who in turn had three sons named Uchi, Arjan and Surju, and it is possible that the Arjan whose portrait has been traced by Dr Randhawa, is the same Arjan who was Gaudhu's grandson, and Pandit Seu's great grandson. He also thinks that the artist family of Samloti sent two of Dhumnu's grandsons, namely Chandru and Ruldu, to Jammu, and Ruldu in the painting discovered by Dr Randhawa is Dhumnu's grandson. The identity of the third artist, Kanchnu, can be traced to another family of Guler artists headed by Moti, whose son Sajnu was Kanchnu's father.
51. Pandit Sansarchand Sharma, retd. Curator of the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, personal communications.
52. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, pp. 240–1.
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CHAPTER II

CENTRES OF WALL PAINTING

The wall paintings of the Dogra area are the product of a culturally active phase of about sixty years of Dogra rule, roughly covering the period 1832–90. Such painting is mainly found in the three capitals of the Dogra brothers—Jammu, Punch and Ramnagar—in palaces as well as temples. In Jammu, wall paintings are found in the villages of Bhurj, Sui Simbli, Purmandal, Mule Chak, Miran Sahib and in the town of Jammu itself in the Raghunāth-Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi; Rām-Jī-*ka-mandir*, Pir Khon; Diwan-Jī-*ka-mandir*, and in the old fort of Gulab Singh. In Poonch, paintings are found in the old fort built by Dhian Singh, and in Udhampur district, in Ramnagar Palace and in Manesar.

We now discuss these sites and paintings in detail.

Bhurj, a small village of about sixty households, is located in the Jammu Tehsil of Jammu district, about fourteen kilometres north-west of the city of Jammu. According to local tradition as narrated by the present *mahānta*, Rāma Lakhan Das Ji[1], a temple existed on the present site more than twelve hundred years ago, to which Prithviraj Chauhan had donated land. The present *puccā* temple was built by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh who also donated twelve acres of land to it and gave it to the Rāmānanda *sampradāya*. Its mixture of Rajasthani temple and Sikh *gurudvārā* architectural overtones is explained by this patronage (Fig.9).

At the entrance of the temple is the inscription:

श्री गजे श्री महाराजे श्री, श्री सलान सींघ जी दा जी कृा तय न श्री महाराज श्री दो,

श्रीत सींघ जी दा पुत्र भद्र न जी दा भूता म घदराजी अधे रिक्ता जन्म स दिन स 1084 द व न य मा ले गत 1564 जते जर व के स म दोरजी या कर्क वद अ, घ भ म ग झ म खद पैन स सि 8 से ना।

The rest is indecipherable. The inscription suggests that it was perhaps built by a Mahārājā Shri Shri Salan Singh, of whom nothing more is known.

The temple is small and compact, surrounded by the living quarters for the *mahānta*, his followers and itinerant *sādhūs*. It does not appear to have been a place where royal worship was performed, though, according to the present *mahānta*, Mahārājā Gulab Singh used to visit the shrine occasionally. The temple is visited by Hindus of all castes, and also by Muslims. Wall paintings are found in the verandah leading to the temple and the *parikrama* and in the inner shrine where images of Rāma and Sītā have been installed.

At the entrance to the temple, along with the donors' inscription, is a portrait of Gaṇeśa. In the verandah outside the *garbha-gṛha*, there are fourteen panels of paintings, in niches varying in width from 38 to 43 cm, and 105 to 164 cm in height. The painted panels in niches above doors are broader, approximately 131 cm wide and only 25 cm high. The eclectic nature of the Vaiṣṇava tradition here is evident from the illustrations from the Rāmāyāṇa, Bhāgvata and Śaiva themes existing side by side, often without any thematic continuity.

To one's left on entering the verandah is a big panel of Kṛṣṇa showing his *virāt-rūp* or his cosmic appearance to the Pāndava brothers. The next panel depicts the first *mahānta*, Bhagvān Jī, sitting with *sādhūs*. The third panel has two centres of interest. In one of them Kṛṣṇa is seen killing the Dāwanal *rākṣasa* helped by his cowherd friends and in the other, Kṛṣṇa in his *virāt rūp* (Figs. 10 and 11), is shown swallowing flames with his *gopās* looking on frightened (Pl. I). On top of a small niche is a panel of Gaṇeśa sitting with his two wives, Riddhī and Siddhī, accompanied by a big bird (Fig. 12). The fifth panel depicts the renunciation of the world by Rājā Bharatharī. It is a three-dimensional scene illustrating Bharatharī's *rānīs* peeping, distraught, from his palace windows: Bharatharī donning the *sanyāsin's* saffron robes, and finally, having left the world, standing with folded hands outside a village shrine (Plates II, III). The sixth panel, on a pale blue background scattered with dark blue flowers, depicts Lord Viṣṇu lying on Seśnāg with Lakśmī seated at his feet. At the top of this panel, Viṣṇu, obviously disturbed in his sleep, is seen fighting the *rākṣasas* Madhu and Kētu. At the bottom is a man on horseback.

The next three panels illustrate the *svayaṁvara* of Sītā and the rejoicing over it in both Janakpuri and Ayodhyā. The first panel depicts a grand *darbār* scene in Rājā Janak's court with Rāma pulling the Gandiva bow (Pl. IV). In the next panels Sītā garlands Rāma while Rāvaṇa, Parśurāma, Viśvamitra and Lakṣmaṇa watch Sītā's selection of Rāma as her husband (Pls. V, VI, VII). The third panel shows Rāma and Sītā after their marriage, seated on a throne in Daśratha's court, with all the *devatās* felicitating them (Figs. 13, 14). All three panels are powerfully drawn, evocative of joy and movement, and are painted in very bright red, yellow, orange and green. The tenth panel is a portrait of Harihar—half Śiva, half Kṛṣṇa—with both the *vāhanas*, Nandī and Garuḍa, in the background (Fig. 15).

On either side of the door leading into the *parikrama* are illustrations of the two mythical elephants, Gaja and Griha, paying homage to Kṛṣṇa with lotus flowers, with the Garuḍa in the background. The hills and rivers shown in the background are an unusual motif (Fig.16).

The twelfth panel is a big composition in the classical tradition of wall painting. It depicts narrative scenes and consists of Kṛṣṇa's entrance into Kaṁsa's palace, his fight with the elephant and two powerful wrestlers of Kṛṣṇa's court (Pl. VIII), and finally Kṛṣṇa dragging Kaṁsa by his hair from his throne (Pl. IX).

The thirteenth panel is an extremely interesting illustration of the final deliverance of Ahalyā from her stone form (Fig. 17). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown in Ahalyā's *kutīr* outside which her husband Gautama *ṛṣī* stands while she herself is seen emerging out of a stone. She has been brilliantly depicted with a stone covering, and in the form of a stone, but inside the stone husk is a beautiful woman in a posture of obeisance, with her legs turned under her, touching Rāma's feet. The artist has managed to express both pathos and joy here.

The fourteenth panel has a rustic simplicity. It shows Śiva and Pārvatī astride Nandī with the unusual detail of Śiva carrying Gaṅeśa in his lap. In the background are yellow-tipped hills surmounted by green trees.

On both sides of the door leading to the *parikrama* are painted two fat *dvārpālas* with raised maces. The *parikrama* around the *garbha-gṛha* is covered with paintings (Fig. 18), although the *parikrama* is very narrow, hardly two metres in width and about three metres in height. It is amazing how artists worked in this crowded space to paint such powerful, graphic and detailed murals. Floral designs have been painted on the ceiling while the walls consist of vertical panels reaching from the ground to the ceiling, and divided into two parts which are painted to look like niches. The lower and bigger panels are 90 cm high and 152 cm wide. The upper panels are much smaller in size, 45 cm in height and 142.5 cm in width.

An effort has been made here to depict the triumph of good over evil, with powerful illustrations of scenes from the Rāmāyāṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgvata. The artists, however, could not suppress their strongly lyrical vein, as, interspersed between these often violent scenes, are depicted the tenderer themes from the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*—those of Kṛṣṇa's romance with Rādhā and the *gopīs*.

On the left hand wall of the *parikrama*, the first panel is indecipherable. The next panel, which is quite faint, shows Kṛṣna sucking Putana *rākṣasī* to death. Next is a small portrait of Mahiṣasura *rākṣasa*. The fourth panel depicts Mahīsa-mardinī Devi fighting against Mahiṣhāsura. The fifth panel shows Draupadi's *chīrharaṇa* or disrobing. The five Pāndava brothers seated on the ground watch Draupadi helplessly, while her *sari* is being pulled off by Dushāsan. The sixth panel is a powerful illustration of the Mahābhārata war betwen the Pāndavas and the Kāuravas, with the sky full of arrows streaking across it. Immediately next to it is a rather faded illustration of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa standing in a romantic mood in a forest (Fig. 19). The eighth panel illustrates *narak kūnd* or hell, and people are shown in different postures of suffering (Figs. 20,21). The ninth panel depicts Kṛṣṇa with the *gopās*; the tenth is a portrait of Ajāsura *rākṣasa*, and finally the eleventh panel illustrates a rather pale *svarga* or heaven, where beautiful damsels wait on men, to a melodious *rāgā*. The next three panels illustrate Kṛṣṇa with *gopās*, Hanumāna and Kṛṣṇa with cows.

The fifteenth panel is a dramatic illustration of Yamā's *darbār* with sinners being boiled to death, thieves having their hands cut off, liars' tongues being cut and adulterers embracing each other through curtains of snakes.

The next two panels are of scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life—the birth of Kṛṣṇa in Kaṁsa's palace, and Vāsudeva carrying the newly-born Kṛṣṇa across a turbulent Yamunā and placing him in Vrindāvana in Nanda's home beside Yaśodā, are depicted (Pl. X). The next panel illustrates the prosperity of Nanda's household, showing Yaśodā and her friends churning butter (Pl. XI).

The eighteenth panel, which is damaged, is a

depiction of *Vamana Bhagwan* asking alms of Bali who is shown lying on the ground. The next few panels contain simple compositions—of Macchavatāra, two *Varāha-avatāras, Govardhandharana*, and Viṣṇu with Lakśmī.

The twenty-fourth panel is a very amusing illustration of the fight between the *devatās* and the *asuras* for the possession of *amrit*. One side of the composition depicts the churning of the ocean, with Viṣṇu lying on Seśnāg, and on the other is a graphic description of the fight between the gods and the demons (Fig. 22).

The twenty-fifth to the thirty-ninth divisions contain small panels which are not very distinct, with an assortment of compositions from the Kṛṣṇa-līlā, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Puraṇās. Kṛṣṇa is distinctly visible stealing the *gopīs'* clothes (Fig. 24), serenading Rādhā, abducting Rukminī, and doing the *rāsa-līlā* with the *gopīs* (Fig. 24). The Rāmāyaṇa illustrations depict Rāma returning with his bride Sītā to Ayodhyā (Figs. 25,26); Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa exiled in the forest; Rāma returning to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā, and finally his coronation. The Nishkalaṇka *avatāra*, Parśurāma killing Sahsrabāhu and Śiva making *bhanga* are also illustrated. An interesting picture contains a composition of *rānīs* smoking a *huqqā*.

The wall opposite that described above also contains a few paintings, most of which have faded badly because they are exposed to direct sunlight. It is, however, possible to discern a scene from the Mahābhārata war between the Kāuravas and the Pāndavas; Kṛṣṇa saving a queen during the war and also a composition of Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa. Four interesting panels have been devoted to the *Samudramanthana* theme on this wall. The first panel depicts Viṣṇu's *darbār* where *devatās* and *asurās* have come to invite him to churn the ocean. The *darbār* scene is a very formal one and except for the central figure of Viṣṇu, all the other figures are shown in postures of homage. The next two panels depict the fight between the gods and the demons for possession of nectar from the ocean. In the fifth panel, Viṣṇu in his *mohinī rūp* is seen distributing nectar to the *devatās*, while the *asuras* are shown swooning with lust for him.

This wall also contains small panels of Viṣṇu in his *Narsinghavatāra* form, with Rājā Hariñyakaśipu in his lap. To his left is Prahlad and to his right Prahlad's mother, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. A small panel depicts *Govardhan-Pūjā*.

The entire ceiling of the *parikrama* is painted over with designs of flowers. Decorative floral panels are also painted around all the compositions. In one of the arches to the right of the *garbha-gṛha* is an interesting panel which runs almost like a border above the main panels, and depicts the *rāsa-līlā* with alternating figures of a *gopī* and Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 27).

The *garbha-gṛha* also originally contained many paintings but now only two panels remain, one, of Kṛṣṇa playing his flute in the forest to an admiring crowd of *gopīs* (Fig. 28). Below it is *narak kūnd* again.

Sui Simbli is a village two furlongs north of Bhurj. According to the present *mahanta*, Prakash Dās Jī, Mahārājā Gulab Singh of Jammu was devoted to Bābā Prem Dās Jī of Sui as the latter had given him the *vardān* or boon that he would one day be a powerful *rājā*. Gulab Singh built the Raghunāth Jī temple and the Prem Dās Jī *Samadhī* at Sui Simbli. Architecturally they are both unostentatious but graceful buildings in the style of Rajasthani temples (Fig. 29). The Raghunāth-Jī *mandīr* at Sui Simbli is small and compact without any sculptural embellishment. The *garbha-gṛha* contains two panels, one depicting Kāliya-madh-mardhana by Kṛṣṇa and the other a solitary *rānī* sitting in her palace.

The *parikrama* of the temple consists of nineteen divisions of panels, some of them very large in size, perhaps the biggest wall paintings known of in Pahāḍī art. Unlike the Raghunāth-Jī *mandir* at Jammu, these panels do not have ornate floral borders but are demarcated simply by black and maroon lines; occasionally floral vines are painted around the different panels. There is great restraint and simplicity in the compositions which are never crowded.

The first division has three panels—a floral design, Śiva and Pārvatī in the forest, and Kṛṣṇa standing under an umbrella (Fig. 30). The second division has four distinct panels—a floral motif, a king on a throne, Viṣṇu, and finally Kṛṣṇa. The third division has four panels, illustrating flowers, Bābāji with his disciples, Bharatharī, and Kṛṣṇa fighting the *rākṣasās*. The fourth division has only two decipherable panels—one of them is an interesting depiction of a *julahā* or weaver's home where the entire family is engaged in the task of weaving. It is supposed to be Kabīr and his family (Fig. 31). The next panel illustrates a seated *devī*. The fifth division also has two panels—Kṛṣṇa leaving Rādhā, and Kṛṣṇa playing with the *gopīs* in a forest.

A door which separates the fifth and sixth divisions has an armed soldier painted on each side. The next division has a floral motif, Rāma and Sītā seated on a

lotus with Lakṣmaṇa behind and Hanumāna in front (Fig. 32). A figure of Rāma setting out with his bow, and finally a depiction of Kāliya-*daman* by Kṛṣṇa

The seventh division consists of two panels showing Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa fighting.

The eighth division covers the entire right-hand wall of the *parikrama* verandah, and has two panels. The lower panel, which is 200 cm wide and 86 cm high, illustrates the *savarī* or procession of Rāmā and Lakṣmaṇa on elephants escorted by Hanumāna, several *sādhūs* and *mahātmās* dressed only in loin-cloths and besmeared with ashes (Fig. 33). Above this is a big horizontal panel with four vertical divisions in which life-size figures of Hanumāna (Fig. 34), Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva, all dressed as hermits, are painted (Fig. 35). All these figures are powerfully drawn and make a very strong impact on both devotee and connoisseur.

Just in front of the *mahānta's* procession is a small panel of a man clad only in a loin-cloth carrying *pothīs* (Fig. 36).

The *parikrama* wall behind the *garbha-gṛha* containing the temple images is also painted. There is a small panel containing a semi-naked *sādhū* (Fig. 37). To his right is Dharamarājā's *darbār* where again, as in the Bhurj painting on a similar theme, sinners are shown being tortured in various ways, such as by being wrapped in snakes, and being burnt in flames. Next to it is an equally big panel illustrating Rāma's fight with hordes of *rākṣasas* (Pl.XII). The fourth panel consists of the four figures of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Richraj Jamwāl and Hanumāna, all sitting in a forest (Pl.XIII).

The *parikrama* wall on the right of the *garbha-gṛha* contains a large panel illustrating several mythological episodes. A panel depicting Sahasrabāhu being killed by Parśurāma (Fig. 38a) is followed by one of an almost life-sized teenage boy, Prahlad Kumar, carrying his aged parents in two baskets attached to a pole (Fig. 38a). There are three small panels of a *yogīnī*, Nandā, with his *ektārā*, and a *yogī* standing on one foot (Fig. 39). Next to these small exquisitely painted panels is Rāma's *darbār* (Pl. XIV). This scene is compositionally very rich and divided into several planes; Rāma and Sītā are shown on the right enthroned; Hanumāna, Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa appear behind the throne, while monkey kings are shown standing before them in postures of homage. On a slightly lower plane is a group of musicians entertaining courtiers. The entire composition is marked with vitality and colour; it is not a formal court scene. Below this panel is a sinner being tormented by two dragons of hell. Above the painting is an inscription in Devanagiri,

पापी कामा देखं।

(Sinner look at your lust) (Fig. 40).

The inner left hand wall of the *parikrama* contains many small panels painted within niches. There is a panel depicting Yamā, a floral motif, and a picture of Kṛṣṇa sitting on a swing. An extremely interesting and thematically rare panel is of a young Kṛṣṇa, barely five or six years of age, reading in the company of *gopās* in the *kutīr* of Sandhipan *ṛṣī* (Fig. 41). The children here are all sitting in relaxed postures and in an atmosphere of pregnant silence. This wall also contains two panels showing Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā (Pl. XV) on a terrace. In one, the *gopās* and *gopīs* are also included and we see Kṛṣṇa playing blindfolded with them.

Near the *garbha-gṛha* there is a horizontal panel close to the ceiling which contains a depiction of the *rāsa-līlā*. The ceiling itself has traces of colour which indicates that originally it must have been painted.

The *samādhī* of Mahānta Prem Das consists of a small domed temple, inside which is a concrete throne, with the emblem of two pairs of *khaṛavās*. There is hardly any space to move around the throne but the inner walls of the *samādhī* have been covered with wall paintings of a certain vitality where the folk element is predominant.

At the entrance to the temple is a small panel above the door, depicting Gaṇeśa *stūtī* or worship. Gaṇeśa is seated flanked by his two queens, Riddhī and Siddhī. On the wall to the left of the entrance are four panels; the first contains a floral motif at the bottom, the next panel depicts Hanumāna; the third illustration is an unusual composition as it shows Hanumāna walking in front of Devī on a tiger. The fourth panel contains a figure of Hanumāna carrying Rāma on his shoulders. The second division originally had four illustrations, of which two are indistinct; the two others depict the Kāliyā-madh mardhana theme and Brahma (Pl. XVI). In the third division is a big panel of a *Devī* on a lotus seat (Fig. 42); above her are painted two flying angels surrounded by floral motifs. The fourth division has two illustrations of Kṛṣṇa stealing butter (Pl. XVII). In one he is taking butter from the pitchers at home and in the other, he steals butter form the *gopīs* (Fig. 43). The third panel in this division illustrates Kṛṣṇa standing under a tree.

The fifth division again has three illustrations from the Kṛṣṇa līlā theme—Gopī *chīr-haraṇa*, *rāsa-līlā*

(Fig. 44) and Kṛṣṇa playing with the *gopīs*. The sixth division illustrates Rāma's *darbār* with Rāma and Sītā seated on a throne. Above this panel appear a group of female angels, wearing Mughal style head-dresses. In the seventh division are Rāma and Sītā enthroned with Hanumāna paying homage, Kṛṣṇa playing the flute in the company of his friends, and finally an illustration of *Kachha-avatāra*. Next to this is a division containing three panels depicting *Varāha avatāra*, Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* and Śiva and Pārvatī. In the ninth division is a solitary panel illustrating winged women on horseback. Finally, the tenth division contains three distinct panels, two of them illustrating Kṛṣṇa dallying with the *gopīs* while the third portrays a Todī rāginī.

According to its present *mahānta*, Ayodhya Das Ji,[3] Rāmjī-ka Mandir at Tandon Khu, Pirkho, in Jammu, was built by Rājā Dhian Singh of Poonch for Bābā Naraindās, a *vairāgi sādhū* belonging to the Ramānanda *sampradāya*. Rājā Dhian Singh had first encountered this *sādhū* when the latter was engaged in *tapasyā* in Lahore. According to the legend, Rājā Dhian Singh was once a prisoner of the Sikhs. He was taken for a walk along the banks of the Ravi where he saw Bābā Naraindās and did *pranāma* to him. The Sikh soldiers ridiculed him for this and asked whether he would get anything by doing obeisance to a *faqīr*. Bābā Naraindās heard this remark and said aloud to Dhian Singh that he should come the next day at noon. When the Rājā went the next day, the Bābā requested him to lift the mat on which he was sitting. Concealed under this mat was enormous treasure, which the Rājā used to purchase his freedom with from the Sikhs. There is no record of Rājā Dhian Singh ever being imprisoned by the Sikhs, but it is possible that he came in contact with Bābā Naraindās in Lahore. Rājā Dhian Singh later succeeded in persuading the Bābā to move from Lahore to Jammu where he built this *asthāna* for him.

The temple is simply constructed without any ornamentation (Fig.45). The verandah in front of the *garbha-gṛha* contains thirty-one painted panels, a few of which are now indistinct. They are large, on average 104 cm wide and 127 cm high.

As one enters the *parikrama* verandah, the first five panels depict the Mahābhārata war; a *gurū* and *chelā* in a forest; *samudramanthana* and two large illustrations of Viṣṇu distributing *amṛt* in his *mohinī-rūp* to the *devatās* and *asūras* (Pl. XVIII). Finally there is a big panel of Draupadī being undressed in the Kaurava *darbār*.

The next five panels are not absolutely clear but compositions of Sītā's *svayaṁvarā*, of Kṛṣṇa with *gopīs*, Guru Nanak with two disciples, Viṣṇu reclining on Śeśnāg, and Kṛṣṇa stealing butter, can be made out. The eleventh panel is a clear depiction of Parśurāma killing Sahasrabāhu; a fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa's armies, and a Kṛṣṇa strangely shown in the company of monkeys. The next four illustrations show Viṣṇu on Śeśnāg; Mahārājās Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh before a *sādhū* (Fig. 46); Kṛṣṇa with Yaśodā and other *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa playing with Balrāma in a forest, and finally Sudāma in Kṛṣṇa's palace (Fig. 47). There is an unusual illustration of Kṛṣṇa returning after ploughing (Fig. 48).

Purmandal, which is thirty-six kilometres from Jammu, on the banks of the river Devak (Fig. 49), can be termed a temple city. According to local tradition, a stone was found here about a thousand years ago by a Rājā Beni Dutt of Avantipur, who was told in a dream that he should build a temple for it. He built the Kāśī-Visvanāth temple. Subsequently, Purmandal became a very famous centre of pilgrimage, and a whole temple complex, along with *dharamsālās*, came into existence on both sides of the river Devak. It is said that Rājā Man Singh of Amber (Jaipur) prayed here before going to Kabul to fight for the Mughals, and promised that if he returned alive he would build a temple to Śiva at this place.[5] He accordingly built the Umā Mahāpatī temple with a Śiva-linga.

Mahārājā Ranjit Singh was attached to this place and occasionally visited it.[6] He had the dome of the Umā Mahāpatī temple painted gold and also built the Eklingaonkar temple here. He donated 1300 *gumaons* of land to Mahānta Motigar Jī, a Śaiva *sanyāsī*, for its maintenance. According to Drew, many of his courtiers also built temples and houses at this place.[7] Mahārājā Gulab Singh of Jammu also donated land to the Kāśī-Viśvanāth temple. The images in the temple of Śiva and Pārvatī are iconographically in the typical Pahāḍī mould (Fig. 50). Śiva even has a moustache which he generally does not have in Indian sculptural iconography. Suchet Singh, Gulab Singh's brother, built a *dharamsālā* here. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh was known to have specially liked this place where he built several small temples. Rich businessmen also put up temples here; for instance, the Shah family who originally came from Gujarat, built the Rādhā Kṛṣṇa temple.[8]

The Śiva-Pārvatī temple which contains wall paintings was built in 1840 by Mahārājā Gulab Singh. The walls facing the *garbha-gṛha* of this temple are covered with paintings, of which ten panels are still

distinct. The wall on the right has a painting depicting Rādhā annoyed with Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 51). On the left hand wall is an illustration of Rāma and Sītā on a throne with a view of a distant town in the background. Below it is a panel of Śiva seated under a tree. On one side is a small panel of a *nāyikā* with her arms around a tree (Fig. 52)

The *garbha-gṛha* wall has two illustrations of Rāma's *darbār*, three illustrations from the Kṛṣṇa theme, in one of which Bāla Kṛṣṇa is painted lying on a leaf and in the other we see Sudāma's visit to king Kṛṣṇa; and finally Nanda is shown with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as young boys (Fig. 53). The seventh panel is a portrait of Brahma. Motifs of flowers and entwining vines also appear.

The walls of the Rādhākṛṣṇa temple (Fig. 54) have an inscription in Dogrī stating that it was built in v.s. 1955 (A.D. 1897) by *hakīm* Rājā Rāma of Gujarat. The inscription runs as follows:

सम्वत 1955 कार्तिक प्रः 19 बंदर श्री राधा कृष्ण महाराज दा हकीम गंगा राम गुजराती पुत्र शाद साहिब अमीर चन्द होराजी दे मारफत शाद साहिब शिव राम गुजराती भाई साहिब बंगा राम हाराजी दे अयानिद थी कोशिश सहित बनवाया।

नीचा

श्री रघुमते ये नमः

The second inscription runs:

सति श्री मदेरमी चन्द्र तनेजाः श्री मत्अवायनिंद जयतेः संप्रास प्रति सातिशया अंगद का स्प्रष्ताः विश्वजतीनाः निखिल आ पारा गृर्जर जन पयाजनिजनाः जम्मू नगर वाश्तष्याः श्री जगदीश गंगा राम शिवराम नामायः स्यत्रीदग्रजन्मान चेषा भादि मत्यु गुठा गन चन्द्रिका नादितज मनमंडल ओमान तराम सनः ते तपी गरी अपंतिज मानुष जनः निजा संपद च पल ग्रहि विधित्सवः श्री मजधारा मोरी जम दा मंदिर माह राति शीन मदेन राहिता नर जरग जाति रमः

(पार्जिजा)

The temple walls are covered with simple paintings of a certain charm. They are of Śiva and Pārvatī (Fig. 55) with Nandī, Brahma, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and Mahiṣamardini (Fig. 56). The face of the *grabha-gṛha* contains three panels. Above the door sit Gaṇeśa with Riddhī and Siddhī (Fig. 57). On the wall to the left of the entrance to the *garbha-gṛha* Kṛṣṇa is shown playing with the *gopīs* while on the right wall is a panel depicting Viṣṇu.

The wall facing the *garbha-gṛha* has three small panels, one of Śiva and two of Rāma and Sītā. The ceiling is covered with geometrical floral motifs. The walls of the *grabha-gṛha* facing the *parikramā* contain many paintings. On the left of the *parikramā* four panels depict Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 58): Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna (Fig. 59); Daśaratha, Kaikeyī and Nārada; and Viṣṇu.

The wall behind the *garbha-gṛha* has six distinguishable penels. They depict the theme of Rājā Daśaratha receiving Viśvamitra and sending Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to be educated by Viśvamitra. A big panel has Daśaratha sitting on his throne in his palace while two young boys, obviously Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, are going out of the palace with *ṛṣī* Viśvamitra (Fig. 60). On the adjoining panel, the two boys are paying their respects to queen Kauṣalyā (Fig. 61). The third panel depicts the exterior of the palace where a male attendant is sitting with his wife. Besides this, there are three panels of a *yogī*, and two panels of *sādhūs* sitting with princes in Viśvamitra's *āśrama*.

The right hand wall of the *garbha-gṛha* facing the *parikrama* illustrates Kṛṣṇa's nativity. In the first panel Kṛṣṇa is shown lying next to Devakī; in the next he is being carried across a river by his father Vāsudeva (Fig. 62), and in the third panel Vāsudeva is seen puting the infant Kṛṣnn next to Yaśodā in Nandā's home (Fig. 63). The last panel on this wall depicts a *devī* in *padmāsana*. On the left of the *garbha-gṛha* wall facing the *parikrama* is a composition of Kṛṣṇa doing Rādhā's *sringāra* (Fig. 64). The temple dome contains four very large panels, about 156 cm high by 135 cm wide, covering the four walls constituting the dome. They are simple compositions of one or two figures each. A portrait of Brahma, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, Mahiṣamardinī Devī (Fig. 65), Hanumāna walking in front of her (Fig. 65), and Śiva and Pārvatī (Fig. 66) form the subjects of these panels.

Most of the *dharamsālās* built in this area are in a state of complete ruin but two of them are still intact. The largest *dharamsālā* was built by Rājā Suchet Singh. Its walls are covered with paintings, most of which are damaged. It is still possible, however, to see a few beautiful depictions of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla* theme. Kṛṣṇa is seen playing on his flute to the admiring *gopīs*; playing hide-and-seek with Rādhā and the *gopīs*; performing the *kiklī* dance with Rādhā and also finally playing a ball game with her. He is seen in his heroic aspect in a beautiful depiction of *Kāliya-daman*. There is an illustration of *Todī Rāgini* with two *nāyikās* standing under a tree and playing a stringed instrument to a deer and an *utaka nāyikā*. There are also contemporary scenes—a marriage party with both the bride and the bridegroom in a palanquin, and a picture of Mahārājā Gulab Singh in his *darbār*—but the latter is almost completely indistinct.

The smaller *dharamsālā* built by Mahārājā Ranbir

Singh contains three distinct panels of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, a *nāyikā* and *Nishkalaṇka-avatāra*.

Mule Chak, in Tehsil Jammu, District Jammu, is a small village with a population of about a hundred families, 22 kilometres from Jammu. There is an impressive Raghunāth Jī's *mandir* here which contains paintings (Fig. 67). According to the inhabitants the temple was built by Mardhan Shah, a rich, childless money-lender, who had vowed that he would build a temple so that God might perhaps bless him with a son. He started construction of the temple on the 27th day of Mah, v.s. 1940 (1882) and completed it in v.s. 1945 (1887). As soon as the *parikrama* was completed, a son, Sukhram Shah, was born to him. There are four inscriptions on the temple, written in Dogrī, Nāgrī, Lande and Urdu. The content of these inscriptions is the same. The Nāgrī inscription is, however, runs as follows:

सति श्री मदेरमी चन्द्र तनेजाः श्री मत्अवायनिंद जयतेः संप्रास प्रति सातिशया अंगद का स्रष्ताः विश्वजतीनाः निखिल आ पारा गृर्जर जन पयाजनिजनाः जम्मू नगर वास्तष्याः श्री जगदीश गंगा राम शिवराम नामायः स्वत्रीदग्रजन्मान चेषा भादि मत्यु गुठा गंन चन्द्रिका नादितज मनमंडल ओमान तराम सनः ते तपी गरी अपंतिज मानुष जनः निजा संपद च पल ग्रहि विधित्सवः श्री मजधारा मोरी जम दा मंदिर माह राति शीन मदेन राहिता नर जरग जाति रमः

The Urdu inscription in Persian characters is slightly different at one point. It states 'Ganda Shah (and . . . Chhaila Shah) are the sons of Beeru Shah residents of Chak Nolu or Nolo.'[9]

According to the inscriptions the temple was built by two brothers named Shah Ganda and Chhaila, sons of Shri Birmal. This attribution of patronage seems more probable than the local legend, as one of the walls of the temple contains two portraits of these brothers. Most of the paintings are indistinct but those that survive appear to have been strongly influenced by folk art.

The front walls of the *garbha-gṛha* which contain images of Rāma and Sītā have floral motifs painted on them. The left hand outer wall of the *garbha-gṛha* contains four distinct panels. The first panel is a graphic depiction of Yaśodā surrounded by her companions, immediately after the birth of her daughter (Fig. 68). Standing figures of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are painted in the second panel, while the third panel depicts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa shooting at a *rākṣasī* (Fig. 69). Above these three panels is a horizontal one depicting a hunting scene, of which hardly anything remains except a detail of three beautifully-drawn deer (Fig. 70). They seem tender, delicate creatures amongst the corrosive forces at work in the rest of the panel.

The wall at the back of the *garbha-gṛha* also originally had several panels of which only the figures of Rāma and Sītā are visible in one panel.

In front of the *garbha-gṛha*, on the right, there are three niches. Two of them contain portraits of the patrons of this temple—a rare occurrence. In the third niche is painted a garden with a few delicately drawn horses.

On the right-hand wall of the *garbha-gṛha* is a big panel (Pl.XIX), showing three couples standing opposite each other looking rather like caricatures. One of these couples is dressed in Mughal fashion and is definitely an illustration of a well-built Laila standing with a flower in her hand before a rather thinner Majnun. On top of this panel two men are shown departing on a journey on camelback, with two women bidding them farewell (Pl.XX). Next is an illustration of the Harinyakaśipu *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Finally, the third big panel on this wall depicts the birth of Kṛṣṇa to Devakī in Kaṁsa's palace; Vāsudevā carrying him across the river Yamuna and finally entering Yaśodā's bedroom, placing the child next to her (Pl.XXI).

The Raghunāth Mandir at Purāni Mandī, Jammu (Fig. 71) was built by Mahārāṇī Bhandrali (named Ishwari Devī). She was the daughter of a *jāgīrdār* of Bhandral who was married to Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh of Jammu in v.s. 1938 (1880) at the age of thirteen, and widowed at the age of seventeen in v.s. 1942 (1884) (Fig. 72). She started building this temple, after her husband's death, using the golden bangles given at the time of her wedding by her parents—and donated the temple to Bābā Pushkar Dās, whom she considered the image of Raghunāth Jī, her *iṣṭadevatā* on the fourteenth Jeysth, v.s. 1947 (June, A.D. 1889).

Bābā Pushkar Dās, a Dogra by birth, was a Vaiṣṇava *vairāgī* and came from the village of Chaboli, Tehsil Jammu. The Mahārāṇī lived for some time in the temple precincts and used its painted *baithak*, which still exists. She was so punctilious that she paid twenty-five rupees per month as rent to Bābā Pushkar Dās whenever she stayed there. The *mahānta* considered himself a caretaker of the place, at which all itinerant *sādhūs* could get free board and lodging. Just before she died, the Mahārāṇī gifted the entire property to him in a letter.[10] After the *samādhī* of Bābā Pushkar Dās, the temple together with ten acres of land came under the ownership of the

Rāmānanda *sampradāya*. The succeeding *gurūs* to the *gadī*—Ananta Rām, Thākur Dās, and the present *mahañta*—have been caretakers for Śrī Vaiṣṇav.

The temple and residence for the *mahāntas*, their followers and travelling *sādhūs*, are all part of a closely-knit complex with a single entrance. It is built in the nineteenth-century style of hill architecture, with some Rajasthani influence. It is a simple yet elegant building, somewhat reminiscent of Florentine Renaissance architecture—a severe exterior and elegant interiors. The main temple does not have any ornamentation. The living quarters are starkly simple. Besides the main temple of Raghunāth Jī containing the images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, there are seven smaller temples of Sańkar, Natwar Sańkar, Durgā, Badrinārāyan, Lakṣmīnārāyana, Mahārājā Dharamrāj and Hanumāna, as well as the *samādhī* of Pūshkar Dās.

Three rooms in the residential quarters contain a rich variety of wall paintings. The walls and ceilings of the *Mahānta ji's baithak* on the first floor of the residential area are covered with paintings (Fig. 73). It is a small room, about three metres wide and almost ten metres long. Probably to avoid visual fatigue and enable the eye to travel easily from one illustration to the other, the artist has divided the main wall into four compartments. The second panel in each division narrates the life of Rāma in exile. The third panel shows scenes from the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The topmost panel mostly is of bowls of fruit painted in a routine fashion while the lowest panels contain floral decorations. The other walls have stories from the Rāmāyāṇa and the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* painted at random, with no thematic or time sequence.

This room was used mainly for illustrating the exile of Rāma and Sītā, their tribulations in the forest especially at the hands of Rāvaṇa, their final victory, return to Ayodhyā and subsequent coronation. Inside the room, above the door, is a painting of Gaṇeśa with Riddhī and Siddhī (Fig. 74). As one enters the room, the first division of four paintings illustrates the grand *darbār* of Daśaratha (Pl. XXII), a painting glittering with gold and a rich variety of colours in the courtiers' dresses. Rāma is shown sitting on a throne with Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna standing in front of him. To the right of this *darbār* scene is a small room in which a magnificent Daśaratha is resplendently seated on his throne (Pl. XXIII). The room has a beautiful green and white flowered carpet, and Daśaratha's three *rānīs* are shown standing in front of him. The entire composition signifies preparations for Rāma's coronation and the *rānīs* seeking Daśaratha's blessings for the event to be celebrated the next morning. On top is a symbolic representation of a bowl of fruit.

The second division has, at the bottom, two flowers in rust and blue. The second panel depicts Hanumāna astride two horses, driving Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in a chariot (Fig. 75). In front are monkey hordes carrying variously coloured banners, a detail symbolic perhaps of the difficult times awaiting Rāma in the forest. Above this is one of the most poignant scenes depicted in this room (Fig. 76). It illustrates Rāma and his party leaving Daśaratha's palace for their fourteen-year sojourn in the forest. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are in yellow whereas Sītā is still dressed in her royal finery of a red *lehṇgā* and green *oḍhanī*. Lakṣmaṇa is driving the chariot with a pensive expression on his face while Rāma looks on resolutely ahead. Sītā looks back towards Daśaratha's palace, full of acute longing for the people she has left behind. To the left of this panel is a small cameo of a *durbān* or palace guard's room—a lone guard with his chin resting on his staff, looking grief-stricken. The entire panel, within the framework of a painted alcove, has a remarkable aura of sadness. This is created very simply on a white background, with taut lines which express grief within a tightly-knit compactness. Above this panel is an illustration of birds pecking at fruit.

The third section is again divided into four panels. The bottom panel consists of green leaves and blue and red flowers. The second panel (Fig. 77a) depicts Rāma performing a *yajnya* or ritual ceremony while Lakṣmaṇa supervises the construction of a bridge across a river painted with white and black lines to indicate its swirling waters. Across the river are monkeys carrying stones and daggers. On the left is a small temple containing the Śiva *linga*, outside which a *sādhū* is sitting crosslegged. In the distance are undulating hills outlined in black and yellow, with trees jutting out. Just below, Rāma reclines against a red bolster with Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna standing behind him and a prince standing in front (Fig. 77b). The third panel contains a composition showing Rāma crossing the river in a yellow boat with Guhā, the king of the Nishādas, a caste of boatmen, coiffed and dressed as a Sikh, standing staff in hand, offering to ferry Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa across the river (Pl. XXIV). The fourth panel at the top is of a blue pottery Mughal fruit bowl full of fruit.

The bottom panel of the fourth division consists of a floral illustration. In the second panel Rāma's army

of monkeys and Rāvaṇa's *rākṣasas* are fighting each other on foot while Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, in chariots, engage with another *rākṣasa*. There is an interesting illustration of a *bhairavī* naked to the waist and wearing only a half *dhotī* standing in the left-hand corner of the battle with a monkey soldier performing obeisance to her (Pl. XXV). In the top right-hand corner are orange-tipped hills, from which some helmeted bears belonging to Rāma's army look on, armed with sticks, as if waiting to join the fray when required. On top, in the centre, is Hanumāna flying, holding the rock of Himavat and Viṣṇa. Although the composition is full of action and movement, it is not congested. The third panel on top (Fig. 78) consists of a tranquil composition contrasting with the movement and warfare depicted in the second panel. It is a lyrical portrayal of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, dressed as forest hermits, sitting outside their huts which are shaded by clusters of trees. It is painted on a white background, with hills and carefully placed plants in the foreground, and successfully conveys the tranquillity of a forest hermit's existence. The fourth panel has an illustration of a bowl of fruit.

In the fifth division the bottom panel has a floral design. The second panel is divided into four sections illustrating the injury inflicted on Lakṣmaṇa by Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, during the intense battle with the *rākṣasas*; his lying unconscious in the lap of a grief-stricken Rāma who is being advised by *sādhūs* to bring the *vaidya* Suśena; in the second section of the painting Hanumāna is entering the scene carrying the *vaidya* on his head. In the third scene Hanumāna has just entered with the mountain Mahodya containing the life-giving herbs—Vishalyakarani—Savarnyakarni, Samjbakarani and Samdheni, to revive Lakṣmaṇa; while in the bottom row Hanumāna is shown carrying Himavat, and Rāma is seen shooting an arrow from his bow (Fig. 79). Although the entire story of the treatment of Lakṣmaṇa is shown in four episodes painted in four horizontal rows, the background is white and hence there is no sensation of overcrowding. The third panel depicts Rāma and Sītā sitting under a tree with Lakṣmaṇa standing behind them. In front of them are Bharata and Śatrughana, along with Guha and many eminent citizens of Ayodhyā, requesting Rāma to return home and become the rightful king (Fig. 80). The fourth panel is a bowl of fruit.

The sixth division consists of the usual floral motif at the bottom and fruit bowl at the top. The second panel is a powerful illustration of Rāma killing the *rākṣasa* prince Meghnath, in combat, his wife Sulochana grieved and shocked, receiving news of the death in her palace and then taking the *rākṣasa's* head to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa—sitting under a canopy—to beg for her husband to be granted life. When her prayer is not granted, she is finally shown at the bottom left-hand corner of the palace committing *satī*, with her husband's head on her lap and her grieving maid standing in front of her. At the bottom right of the composition Hanumāna is seen discoursing on the victory of good over evil to awe-struck monkey friends who sit with bewildered expressions but in completely relaxed postures. The third panel depicts Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa on straw mats outside *ṛṣī* Atri's hut and his devoted wife Anasuyā, with his disciples, making preparations to welcome their distinguished guests (Pl. XXVII, XXVIII).

The seventh division is separated into four panels—the lowest and the topmost decorative, and the middle two containing powerful compositions. The second and biggest panel (Fig. 81) is divided into two parts. At the top a huge Kumbhakarna, Rāvaṇa's brother, is shown sleeping in a cave on the mountain Charyapura while several *rākṣasas* make efforts to wake him up. Some are shown tugging at his moustaches, others pulling his horns, or scratching his legs. It is obvious that they finally succeeded in waking him up, although according to Vālmikī the six-month period for his slumbers was not yet over, he had only been asleep for nine days.[11] In the lower portion of the composition he is kneeling in front of his ten headed brother Rāvaṇa who, in a state of wild anger, gesticulates violently, and orders Kumbhakarna to do battle and wipe out Rāma's armies. At the top in the third panel, as if to emphasize the need for Kumbhakarna to wake up, Rāma and Sītā are shown outside their *kutīr* while Sūrpaṇakhā, Rāvaṇa's sister, displays her charms to Rāma who is in turn directing her to Lakṣmaṇa's *kutīr* on the left (Pl.XXIX). There is a small cameo of Lakṣmaṇa cutting off Sūrpaṇakhā's nose outside his hut.

The eighth division has a powerful second panel (Fig. 82) illustrating a colossal Kumbhakarna trampling the *vanar senā* under his feet, while in the left-hand corner monkeys approach Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, seated under a tent, to complain about the *rākṣasas* violent depredations and massacres. At the top in the third panel a woman is seen approaching five figures seated in a building, asking for protection.

In the ninth division, immediately above the routine floral motif is a vivid depiction of Rāma

seated as an armed hermit under a tent while Kumbhakarna, who according to Vālmikī had assumed a ferocious form measuring a hundred bows in breadth and six hundred in height, formidable, full of power and with eyes like two chariot wheels,[12] is shown approaching from a distance, while princes and monkeys request Rāma for protection. Their complaint was that eight thousand seven hundred monkeys had already been killed by Kumbhakarna. The lower end of the composition illustrates in a very interesting fashion Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Kumbhakarna drawn as large figures fighting each other while the monkey armies of Rāma consist of small figures (Fig. 83). The third panel on top again depicts the same fight but now both antagonists are shown fighting from chariots. At the top is the standard fruit bowl.

At this juncture the symmetry of the various painted divisions is interrupted by a door. The tenth division consists of two panels. In the first panel directly above the door (Pl. XXX), Rāvaṇa is seen seated on his throne in his marble palace, while many of his *rākṣasa* courtiers sit in front of him on a carpet. On the left of this scene is a weeping woman approaching Rāvana in his palace, and finally complaining to him. It is obviously a depiction of the *anāsa* or noseless Sūrpaṇakhā returning to Laṇka and complaining to Rāvaṇa about the treatment meted out to her by the two princes of Ayodhyā. Above this is a formal composition of a fruit bowl.

The eleventh division again consists of four panels. At the bottom are flowers. The second panel (Fig. 84), illustrates Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fighting an over-sized *rākṣasa* and finally slaying him. It is an electrifying depiction of a mighty combat. Interestingly, while the *rākṣasa* is clothed in a typically Indian *dhotī*, the two royal brothers look rather like the soldiers in Persian miniatures: they wear knee-length coats and helmets like crowns. On top of this is a very interesting panel depicting at its centre an elderly beggar standing with a begging bowl outside Sītā's hut, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa hunting the golden deer in the right-hand corner of the painting, while in the left corner of the entire scheme Rāvaṇa is shown carrying Sītā away in his arms. At the top is a panel of two birds and a spray of flowers. There is a small panel of Sugrīva appealing to Rāma for aid (Fig. 85).

The twelfth division, besides the two formal panels of fruit and flowers, consists of a big composition of Rāvaṇa proceeding to battle in his chariot, surrounded by his armies in combat order. Closest to his chariot are foot soldiers who are surrounded by the cavalry, and finally come the elephant corps. In the painting the armies are arranged in rectangular fashion. Unfortunately, the painting has been spoiled by a coat of varnish. Above this, the third panel (Fig. 86) consists of an ethereal depiction of the efforts of the bird king Jatāyū to stop Rāvaṇa from abducting Sītā. On a white background a huge Jatāyū in bird form is trying to stop Rāvaṇa's chariot, only to be struck by an arrow and collapse in a heap of feathers. Its stark simplicity and tenderness makes it one of the most beautiful panels in this room.

The thirteenth section has been somewhat damaged by time and the sun, and the colouring has lost some of the luminosity of the other panels. After a floral motif, the second panel consists of Rāvaṇa's armies fighting against Lakṣmaṇa's armies. Most of the panel is damaged. The third panel shows Sītā sitting in a formally designed garden, representing the famous Asoka garden in Rāvaṇa's palace (Pl. XXXI), surrounded by seven short and ugly *rākṣasīs*—Ekjāta, Harijāta, Vikata, Durmukhi, Chandarī, Praghāsa and Ajāmukhī (Pl. XXXII). Trijātā is not shown. At the top is a bowl of fruit.

In the fourteenth division, besides the two formal panels, the second big panel shows at the top Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa seated under a canopy, holding a counsel of war with their friends and armies. At the bottom the brothers are depicted in a chariot accompanied by their armies on foot. Their most faithful devotee, Hanumāna, is painted as the charioteer. On top, as if to explain the provocation for war, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown standing in front of their empty hut questioning the injured Marichi (in deer form) (Pl. XXXIII).

The fifteenth division is unusual. At the bottom, instead of a floral motif, there is a crude folk-type painting of two male figures, painted entirely in blue, carrying plates filled with apples on their heads. Over this is a predominantly folk panel of Kṛṣṇa standing with a flute while Rādhā looks admiringly at him (Pl. XXXIV). The figures of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are rather squat compared to the Rāmāyaṇa scenes depicted up to this point. It is possible that they were painted later. The third panel is an illustration of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with their monkey armies. At the top is a bowl of fruit.

A door intervenes here and the sixteenth division only consists of a single panel of a geometrical floral motif.

The seventeenth division resembles the fifteenth. The lowest panel consists of two black *matkas* with

flowers in them. The second panel is again rather inferior and depicts Rādhā holding Kṛṣṇa's flute which he is trying to snatch away from her. The third panel illustrates the fight of Bālī and Sugrīva with Rāma shooting an arrow at Bālī (Pl. XXXV). The top panel has a floral motif.

The eighteenth division consists of a door surrounded by decorative floral motifs. The nineteenth division has four panels. At the top and bottom are fruit and flowers. The second panel painted in a niche illustrates Ardhanārīśvara—half Sīva half Pārvatī—seated on a stool. The third panel depicts Rāma crowning Sugrīva king (Pl.XXXVI). The twentieth division is a door with decorative motifs.

The twenty-first division is a portrait of an aged Mahārājā Ranbir Singh (Fig. 7) while the next panel shows Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing in front of king Sugrīva.

The twenty-second division, over the entrance, contains a big panel (Fig. 87), illustrating Hanumāna, who, having destroyed the Aśokavaṇa (garden of Rāvaṇa) is being brought before Rāvaṇa. Above this is a panel illustrating king Sugrīva seated on a throne in Kishkindha accompanied by his two *rānīs*.

Interestingly, although the right-hand wall of this room illustrates the theme of Rāma's exile and his adventures during that period of his life, its left-hand wall depicts an assortment of minor themes from both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata.

Immediately below the *mahānta's baithak* is a room which contains the remains of eighteen original panels, of which only five are now at all distinct. There are paintings of Gaṇeśa seated with Riddhī and Siddhī, his two wives; Rāma and Sītā on a throne with Hanumāna offering them flowers; Śiva and Pārvatī seated beside Nandī; a portrait of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh and another illustration of Rāma and Sītā enthroned. They are all simple compositions lacking decorative floral borders, perhaps because *mahānta* Pūshkar Dās used to live in this room while Mahārāni Bhandrali was alive, and did not want the room to be too ornate.

On the first floor to the right of the entrance to the *thākurdvāra* are two rooms—one small and the other as big as the *baithak*—which contain paintings meticulously preserved and with duller colours than those in the *mahānta-ji's baithak*. It is obvious that they were painted by less competent artists. The smaller room contains nine structurally simple panels. At the entrance is a composition of Kṛṣṇa stealing butter from the *gopīs*. Next comes a composition of Rādhā in Kṛṣṇa's arms, an unusual subject, as amorousness is generally not depicted so openly in the wall paintings of the hills. There are also four compositions from the Śiva-Pārvatī theme. In one of them, which looks rather like a Persian painting, Śiva and Pārvatī are illustrated standing in a forest with a depiction of hills which is almost abstract in feeling, in the background. In the second panel Śiva and Pārvatī are seated, with Nandī and Kṛṣṇa also placed in a corner of the painting. The third illustration shows only Śiva and Pārvatī with Nandī. Finally, the fourth panel depicts the Ardhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva. On top of the last panel is Mahiṣamardhinī Devī astride a tiger.

This room also contains three illustrations of *nāyikā bhēdā—todi rāginī*, and a *nāyikā* seated on a throne looking with longing at the moon while her *dāsī* holds a fly whisk over her. The third *nāyikā* is standing alone; above her is an illustration of Brahmā.

The big room has twenty-seven paintings, most of them on the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* theme. As one enters, there is an illustration over the doorway of Yaśodā nursing the infant Kṛṣṇa. In the next panel Kṛṣṇa is shown sucking Putana to death while the bigger cowherds hack at her with axes. On the side is a small panel of a seated Lakśmī.

The fourth panel depicts Kṛṣṇa on a swing while in the fifth panel he is standing in a forest with Rādhā. Then comes a door which has *devīs*, seated with lotuses in their hands, painted on both sides. The eighth panel shows Kṛṣṇa killing a *rākṣasa* while the ninth is another depiction of Kṛṣṇa and the cowherds stealing butter from the *gopīs*. Then the series of panels is interrupted by a door, on one side of which is a solitary Hanumāna. On the other side of the door Hanumāna is shown carrying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders. On top is a panel depicting Kṛṣṇa in a chariot, and to the right of the door are three panels on the Kāliyā-*madhmardhana* theme. The first panel has Kāliyā swallowing towns; the second panel illustrates Kṛṣṇa dancing on Kāliyā's head, while his queens beg Kṛṣṇa's forgiveness; and finally the third panel shows the death of Kāliyā. Next to these three panels is a portrait of Rāvaṇa, *rāsa-līlā*, *Govardhandharana*, Viṣṇu receiving flowers from elephants, Rāma and Sītā on a throne, Śivā and Pārvatī on a throne, Viṣṇu and Lakśmī on Garuḍa, and a portrait of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh of Jammu.

The remaining panels illustrate the nativity of Kṛṣṇa. The first panel shows a *dolī* or palanquin arriving in a palace, indicating Devakī being carried to prison in Kṛṣṇa's palace. In the next panel the

newly-born Kṛṣṇa is being taken away from Devakī's bed by Vāsudevā, her husband. Then follows a painting of Vāsudevā bringing a child to his brother-in-law, Kaṁsa. Vāsudevā's and Kaṁsa's names are written on their figures. In the third panel a child's head is being dashed on a stone by a palace guard, while the child herself is seen flying away in the right-hand corner of the panel, cursing Kaṁsa. In the final panel Vāsudevā is shown placing Kṛṣṇa tenderly beside a sleeping Yaśodā.

The main temple building does not have any narrative panels but there are a few decorative floral motifs painted on its walls.

The Dīwān-Jī *kā mandir* in Jammu city was originally adorned with many paintings which have now been covered over with whitewash. Fortunately the *samādhī* of Ananta Ram in the temple compound still has a few clear paintings.

Three panels depict the Kṛṣṇa theme—Kṛṣṇa playing with the *gopīs* in his home; Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā sitting on a palace balcony and listening to music; and Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā standing under a tree. Three indecipherable panels in which only a few figures are distinct show a soldier, Śiva's bull Nandī, two female headless figures, and Hanumāna. The interior of the *garbha-gṛha* of this temple also had paintings which have now faded.

The Rādhākṛṣṇa Temple at Miran Sahib (Fig. 88) was built by Dīwān Anant Ram, of the family of the *dīwāns* of the Jammu *darbār* about 1830. It is a small temple which was endowed with thirty-two acres of land and given to Pandit Lakhiram to run on behalf of the *dīwān's* family. The present *pujāri* belongs to this family of hereditary *pujāris*.

The style of paintings in this temple suggests that it is a construction belonging to the mid-nineteenth century. It contains very few panels, but they are good. The entrance verandah before the *parikrama* is decorated with two brief panels illustrating, on the right, Gaṇeśa with Riddhī and Siddhī and Śiva, and in another panel Śiva and Pārvatī. On the left Rāma and Sītā are on a throne and a small panel illustrates Kṛṣṇa's *virāt-rūp*.

On the front wall of the *garbha-gṛha* two door-keepers have been painted. The right-hand wall of the front *parikrama* contains two very large panels illustrating Parasurāma fighting Sahasrabāhu (Pl. XXXVII) and Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā (Fig. 89). The left-hand wall of the front *parikrama* also has two large panels in one of which Kṛṣṇa again appears with two *gopīs* (Fig. 90); the second panel consists of *Varāha-avatār* (Fig. 91). The dome of this temple contains illustrations of Rāma and Sītā seated on a throne (Fig. 92), Śiva and Pārvatī relaxing in a forest, and *rāsa-līlā*. All the paintings in this temple are in a state of good preservation.

Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir* at Rathna is located in Tehsil Ranbir Singh Pura, District Jammu, about one and a half kilometres from Kaluchak on the Jammu road. The village contains a Raghunāth Jī's *mandir* which was built by a rich money-lender, Bihari Shah, of the *mahājan* caste. The interior of the temple was completely covered with paintings but the walls have collapsed and only the *garbha-gṛha* remains intact. Inside the *garbha-gṛha* is a panel of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa standing under a tree. It is predominantly folk in concept. Fallen masonry recovered from the *parikrama* walls reveal subtle blue, green and maroon colouring, and very simple lines.

In Udhampur district, the two centres for wall painting are Ramnagar and Manesar. Ramnagar is about ninety kilometres north-east of Jammu. The journey from Jammu to Ramnagar takes one through very picturesque country, starting from the undulating plains of Jammu, to the steep climb to Udhampur, and then a gradual winding climb to Ramnagar through tiny villages, rice fields, barren rocks, and hills from which trees can be seen jutting out exactly as depicted in Jammu paintings. On arrival in Ramnagar, a sleepy town of about five thousand inhabitants, one feels one has been transported to Rip van Winkle's abode. The *qasba* or town is overshadowed by Ram Singh's large and impressive palace (Pl. XXXVIII). Its sheer size and solidity made it a magnificent edifice. It is said to have been built by Rājā Suchet Singh, the brother of Mahārājā Gulab Singh, in about 1830. de Vigne who visited it in 1843 describes it as the 'new palace of Rājā Suchyt Singh'[13]. Additions to this building were made by Rājā Ram Singh, the second son of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh.

Almost all the existing rooms of this palace, which is now in a dilapidated state, have wall paintings. In the older portion, only floral designs are still evident on the ceilings and walls. On the left are three rooms containing paintings which have been repaired by the Archaeological Survey of India.

On entering the *darbār* hall, to the right are four decipherable panels depicting Rukminī-*haraṇa*. In one, the palace of Rukminī's father is shown deco-

rated for wedding celebrations, and complete with a *vedi* or place where the Hindu wedding takes place. In the adjacent panel Rukminī is shown going towards the temple of the Devī. In the third panel she is being lifted into a chariot by Kṛṣṇa (Pl. XXXIX) and the next two panels illustrate the fight between the armies of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī's father (Fig. 93).

Most panels on the right-hand wall of this hall have faded completely. Of the few remaining panels, in one, two armies are shown in combat, with Kṛṣṇa wielding the *Sudarṣan Cakra* or wheel of destruction. It appears to be a depiction of the Mahābhārata war. An illustration of Kṛṣṇa revealed as Viṣṇu after *Govardhandhārana* is also in a reasonable state of preservation (Fig. 94). In a third semi-distinct panel Viṣṇu and Lakśmī are seated on a throne, with the *devatās* paying homage to them (Pl. XL). The fourth panel illustrates Kṛṣṇa's *darbār*, with Rāma, Śiva and other *devatās* paying homage to him. In the fifth panel we see Sītā's *svayaṁvara*, with Rāma trying to break the Gandīva bow and Sītā standing holding a garland in front of him. In the background is a palace from which queens and princesses look on (Fig. 95). There is also a very interesting panel depicting Suchet Singh and his friends hunting wild boar (Fig. 96). There is great life in the drawing, though most of the colours have faded. Finally comes an illustration of Yāma's *darbār*, depicting the residents of hell being boiled in oil and bitten by snakes and dragons (Fig. 97).

The wall of the hall adjoining the bedrooms has a few clear illustrations of Suchet Singh in *darbār* (Fig. 98). A significant point is the number of soldiers, dressed both in red coats like British uniforms, and Dogra uniforms, who are present in these court scenes. In one scene is a dancer with her accompanying musicians (Pl. XLI). On the left-hand wall most of the panels are in a damaged state but a few panels with rich and ornate compositions depicting the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Rukminī are still reasonably clear (Pl. XLII). Kṛṣṇa's armies are shown fighting the forces of Rukminī's father. Kṛṣṇa's *barāt* is illustrated in another panel, and finally Kṛṣṇa is shown ensconced with Rukminī in his own palace. There is a beautiful painting of Yaśodā sitting in front of her palace trying to catch Bālakṛṣṇa who is crawling away from her (Fig. 99). A reasonably well-preserved panel illustrates Śiva seated with Pārvatī on Mount Kailāśa. The mountains have a conical unnatural form.

The wooden ceiling of the hall has been painted with geometrical floral designs, and the walls painted red, yellow and blue, look as if they were made of ornamental brick work. The predominance of red and gold and ornamentation even on the massive wooden doors gives an impression of magnificence and wealth. The colouring as well as the drawing is extremely sophisticated and is obviously the work of some of the best artists of the time. The stucco effect is also employed in many paintings. The wall paintings look like framed pictures.

Ram Singh's bedroom walls are divided into twenty-four sections, each containing three or four panels of paintings. The panels vary in size from 31 cm in height and 32 cm in width, to 40 cm in height and 44 cm in width. The monotony of the paintings is broken by two doors and a window looking out on the beautiful landscape outside. The artists have created an atmosphere inside the room which complements the magnificent scenery.

Most of the paintings are done in a series of horizontal and vertical panels. Above the door leading into this room are three remarkable panels. The first one, just above the door, illustrates the splendour of Rājā Suchet Singh's wedding celebrations. The composition is full of men and women and the use of red and gold highlights the atmosphere of joy very effectively (Pls. XLIII-V). Above this panel Suchet Singh is shown holding a grand *darbār* (Pl. XLVI). The third panel is a depiction of the armies of Rāvaṇa and Rāma standing on either side of the Indian Ocean, while a stone bridge is being built across it. The wall on the right of the room has an arrangement of four panels—Devī receiving the devotions of two female angels; Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā with Hanumāna in the forest (Pl. XLVII); a prince fighting a tiger (Fig. 100), and Śiva and Pārvatī in the forest. The second division again has three panels—Mahiṣamardinī Devī fighting Mahiṣāsura; a *rānī* seated on a bed smoking a *huqqā* (Fig. 101); Gulab Singh in *darbār*, setting out to do battle. The third division consists of four panels, depicting Mahiṣamardinī Devī, a *rānī* smoking a *huqqā* and two panels of Śiva and Pārvatī with their family in the forest (Pl. XLVIII). In the fourth division Kṛṣṇa is shown humbling Kāliya Nāg. There is also a panel depicting Rāvaṇa sitting with his wife, which is rather unusual. The third panel consists of Śiva and Pārvatī at ease in the forest.

The fifth division consists of only two panels made in an artificial niche. The top panel indicates a *rājā* setting out to fight and at the bottom is a painting of two armies fighting (Pl. XLIX and Fig. 102). The

compositions are dense with figures as well as movement.

The sixth division has five exquisite panels—at the top Suchet Singh on horseback (Pl. L); Lailā conversing with an emaciated Majnun; Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa standing in an ethereally beautiful forest, and Śiva and Pārvatī again in a forest. The topmost panel is an illustration of a battle scene (Pl. LI). After the intervention of a door, the seventh division celebrates the Holī festival (Pl. LII) and also shows a battle scene.

All the panels in the eighth division are now indistinct. The ninth division has two panels; the top one is a depiction of a grand *darbār* scene with the *rājā* sitting on a throne and listening to music. The second panel forms a contrast with the terror of a battle scene, showing armies engaged in fierce combat (Fig. 103). In the tenth division, only one panel survives intact. This depicts a lovelorn *nāyikā* garlanding a tree. In the eleventh division there must have been four panels originally, but now, only one partly damaged painting of a *sādhū* sitting in the forest with his disciples can be made out.

The twelfth division has two panels illustrating a *darbār* scene and Mahiṣāsurmardinī destroying Mahiṣāsur. Next to it are two panels, of a *darbār* and a battle scene. The fourteenth division mechanically repeats the illustrations of the twelfth—namely Mahiṣāsurmardini Devī and a *darbār* scene. The fifteenth division breaks the monotony with an illustration of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā visiting Ahalyā's hut, and, in the next panel, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa standing in a forest. The sixteenth division forms a contrast to the lyrical themes of the fifteenth division as it shows grandeur in the form first of a palace scene and then a battlefield.

The seventeenth division consists of four small panels with a very finely executed *nāyikā*. The eighteenth division shows Holī being celebrated and armies marching. After a series of indistinct divisions containing two panels each, the nineteenth clear division suddenly delights us with four distinct panels. The first panel has a newly-married *nāyikā* being brought to her husband in his palace; then comes a *rājā* going out shooting, and finally again an illustration of a *nāyikā*. The next division has a panel showing Kṛṣṇa with the *gopās* and *gopīs* and the adjacent panel depicts a battle scene. The twenty-first division has only one panel intact; this depicts *nāyikās*. The twenty-second division has four clear panels. The first is unusual as it shows Śiva and Kṛṣṇa standing in a forest with Rādhā and Pārvatī. The second panel has just two figures of soldiers. The third panel is of three *nāyikās*. Finally, the fourth panel adds the auspicious touch with a portrait of Gaṅeśa. The twenty-third division has two panels, one depicting a battle scene and the other showing Hanumāna flying with a rock.

All the panels have ornate borders of gold and red The ceiling itself has been painted over with bright floral designs while just below the ceiling, a horizontal floral pattern runs right across the wall of the room. Occasional mirrors also adorn the walls. The doors and windows of the room are painted a bright Chinese red.

On the doors of the entrance to the ante-room, Indian soldiers dressed in quasi-British uniforms are painted (Fig. 104). The ante-room itself is extremely ornate. The ceiling, walls, doors and windows are all covered with bright red and gold floral motifs. Parts of the wall are studded with mirrors and nineteenth-century English prints of women (Fig. 105). It is a room of oriental grandeur, and the English prints give it a bizarre touch. The room is definitely over-decorated and the only redeeming features are a few panels of solitary *nāyikās*, where the line is fluid and lyrical and the colours subtle (Fig. 106). Two panels of soldiers dressed in the British-style uniforms we have noted before also exist.

The entire Ramnagar series of paintings is well preserved and is remarkable for the use of bright colours. Red, yellow, turquoise, blue, green, purple and gold are found in their most brilliant hues. Since the paintings were executed by artists who were masters of their medium, the paintings do not look garish in spite of the vivid colours used.

Manesar is a small village containing eighty to a hundred houses but with the biggest lake in this region. It is in Tehsil Ramnagar, thirty-five kilometres east of Udhampur.

The village has a big *maṭha* belonging to Śaiva *sanyāsins* (monks). According to Forster, 'The lands of Manesar were appropriated by a former chief of Jummo, to the maintenance of certain vyragees.' These *mahāntas* were celibate, as Forster goes on to say that 'the vyragees in these delicious spots seem to enjoy every pleasure which men in India can take. But here I am checked and called upon to crave your pardon for these solitary sectaries have precluded women from their society and to say that any portion of life however replete with other gratifications can yield a genuine pleasure without women is to suppose that our day could be cheerful without the light of the sun.'

According to the present *mahānta*, Raj Kumar Parbat, the *maṭha* first contained only the Narsingh Jī *mandir*[14] built by Bābā Khabal Jī Parbat who lived

here in A.D. 1300.[15] The present temple does not look more than two hundred years old. It is possible that when the orginal temple fell down, other buildings were constructed over it. Stray remnants of colour on the walls of this temple show that they were once covered with wall paintings which have now been whitewashed over.

The *maṭha* contains a *bārādarī* or residential area which is now being used as a high school. One of the rooms was originally used as a *baithak* by the *mahānta* and is now kept locked because of its dilapidated state. This room had painted walls. Of the original fifty panels, thirty-seven are still distinct. According to the present *mahānta*, Mahārājā Pratap Singh was the donor of these paintings. The room is aesthetically located as it over looks the beautiful panorama of the Manesar lake with its woods.

The room has a big vertical panel, 73 cm by 121 cm with smaller horizontal panels above, which are generally 36 by 73 cm (Fig. 107).

Most of the themes illustrated in this room are from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. The juxtaposition with Purāṇic themes relating to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā has been done intentionally. The artists appear to indicate that they were familiar with tales other than the popular mythological ones. To the left of the entrance is a panel of Śiva and Pārvatī in a forest. The second panel shows a few women in a palace (Fig. 108). There is a big panel of Kṛṣṇa stealing the *gopīs*' clothes (Fig. 109), a picture of an elephant offering flowers to Viṣṇu (Fig. 110) and another small panel illustrating Kāliyādaman. The next seven panels depict themes from the Rāmāyaṇa—in two of them Daśaratha is shown sitting in his palace; there are two *rākṣasa* figures; *rānīs* giving *dakṣinā* to a prince, obviously referring to Rāma; and Lakṣmaṇa intervening in a fight between Bālī and Sugrīva; and finally a panel with the solitary figure of Rāma.

The Rāmāyaṇa theme is interspersed with a few exquisitely painted illustrations, in two small panels, of female angels with peacocks (Fig. 111); Mahiṣamardinī Devī (Fig. 112), and Sarasvatī with her swan (Fig. 113). The sixteenth panel is an illustration of *yogīs* against a white background. The next panel depicts Kṛṣṇa standing among his cowherds. The eighteenth panel is an illustration of Guru Nānak sitting with his disciples, and next to it is Viṣṇu destroying Hariṇya Kaśipu. Then follows a depiction of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa setting out in a chariot to give battle to Rāvaṇa, accompanied by their *vānarsena* in marching order (Fig. 114). The twenty-first panel depicts Viṣṇu reclining on Śesnag with Lakśmī seated at his feet (Fig. 115). The next four panels again depict themes from the Rāmāyaṇa—Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in a chariot, going to fight the *rākṣasās*; women praying in a temple for Rāma's success; Rāma bathing before being anointed by four women (Fig. 116), possibly again receiving blessings for success in battle; and finally Rāma's armies are seen fighting against the *rākṣasas* (Pl. LIII). The twenty-sixth panel depicts Kṛṣṇa stealing butter from the *gopīs*.

The entire entrance archway contains beautifully drawn panels. On the right-hand wall, immediately next to the twenty-sixth panel, are three delicate panels. In two of them *nāyikās* are standing holding a flower (Fig. 117), while in the topmost panel *gopīs* churn butter. On the left-hand wall there are another three panels. Immediately opposite the two *nāyikās* on the right hand wall are *nāyaks*. The lower male figure stands smelling a rose while the upper figure holds a parrot (Fig. 118). The third and topmost panel depicts the coronation of Rāma and Sītā.

The thirty-sixth panel depicts a male palace guard with a staff in his hands. The next panel shows Rāma and Sītā in their palace. The thirty-eighth panel is a rather rare illustration of Sāvitrī begging Yāma, who is standing with one foot on Satyavān's body, to spare her husband's life. The thirty-ninth panel is an indistinct depiction of *Samudra manthaṇa*. The next two panels depict ladies standing in a garden, and finally Gaṇeśa's palace.

These panels are enclosed in floral designs, as is the ceiling. The room adjoining the *baithak* has geometrical designs and floral motifs, outlined in maroon and black. Shades of green appear in between.

The old fort at Punch appears to be an eighteenth-century construction, with several later additions. The wall paintings done during the rule of Dhian Singh, who was given this estate by Ranjit Singh in 1820, have been obscured with whitewash.

J.C. French who visited the place in the early 1950s saw three panels in the *Zanānā Mahal*.[16] These were painted above the doors and consisted of Gaṇeśa with Riddhī and Siddhī; Rāma and Sītā on a throne with Hanumāna paying homage to them, and a third panel, according to him, depicting Śiva and Pārvatī on a throne. The illustration he provides shows in fact Rāma and Sītā and not Śiva and Pārvatī on the thorne.

It is generally believed that the old palace of Mahārājā Gulab Singh in Jammu contained wall paintings.

Unfortunately, except for floral designs, practically nothing else remains of these paintings.

There is a small temple built on the shores of the Tawi known as the Mumti temple which contains a Śiva liṅga. Its walls are also covered with paintings, which on stylistic grounds appear to be twentieth-century creations, and hence have not been included in our study.

In Udhampur District there is a small town known as Reasi which is on the way to the Vaisno Devi shrine. It had one of the most ancient temples in this area but is now in ruins. Two slabs of wall paintings from there have been brought away and kept in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (Figs. 119 and 120). The drawing as well as the colouring is of very good quality.

REFERENCES

1. Stated by *Mahānta* Ram Lakhan Das Ji to the author in March and October 1978 in Bhurj.
2. Stated by *Mahānta* Prakash Das Ji to the author in March 1978 at Sui Simbli.
3. Stated by *Mahānta* Ayodhya Das Ji to the author, in October 1979 in Jammu.
4. Stated by the present priest in December 1977 at Purmandal.
5. Ibid.
6. Diwan, *Gulabnama*, p. 51.
7. Drew, *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 88–9.
8. Stated by the present priest of this temple in March 1979 and by Shri Kaushal Kumar, Raghunath Chowk, Jammu, who is a descendent of this family.
9. Translated by O.C. Sood of Maria Brothers, Simla.
10. Maharani Bhandrali donated the temple and all its property to Baba Pushkar Das in a letter which ran as follows:

''श्री राम जी''

श्री राम जी रघुनाथ जी सहाय। श्री बाबा पुशकर दास होरी जी की बन्दराली मथो टेकना संभालना। बहुत करी और जी अनन्त मे तुसगी देता है। अपनी कुशी मने। सुफारिश कस दी नहीं है। होर बाबा जी तुस चिन्ता फिकर कुछ नही करनी। आव् चार दस वर जिन्दी रहुं। ता तुसडा सबे कुछ चन्ना बनी जाग और मै तुसगी रघुनाथ जी बराबर जाननी हा। तुस कुछ रखना बाबा जी तुम कसे दी खुशामद नही करनी। और जी पाबती भी त्वाडे कने खोटे है। और भी लये त्वाडे मने खोटे है। किसे मालूम नही। तुसगी मालूम नही। जिन्दी त्वाडे लिख किसे दी मर्ज़ी नही थी। और मैं अपनी मर्ज़ी तुस महन्त बनाये है। इन्ता सब त्वाडे पर चलाकियां कर रही दी। त्वाडे लिख कोई नही थीं। मन्दरे दे अन्दर सब होगी ये। जोरा भरी कने मै मन्दिर तुसगी देता था। होर तुसी किसे मैने गल नही करनी। काकल परी करे कुसग़ी नही देना अपने मनबिच गल सोचे रखनी। मुझगी इस गल या जंदर नहीं देना। होर बाबा जी इक अर्ज मेरी है। त्वाडे गी। यह सब चीज़ सब संभाल रखनी। जे महन्त मन्दिर होग़े तुसगे होंगे होर मन्दिर त्वाडा घर दें। तुझ घर ही समझना। यह मैं तुसगी महन्त बनाया है। होर हत्ये उपर समल्य देवा है। ये गल भोजब त्वाडे मन किस थी भज्जल।

Translation of letter from Her Highness Dowager Maharani Sahiba Bhandrali Ji to Mahanta Pushkar Das:

My Shriman Shri Raghunath Ji help—Shri Baba Pushkardas Ji kindly accept very many respects from Bhandrali. I have given Anant (armlet) to you willingly and without recommendation of anyone. Babaji you need not worry if I live for four ten years then everything will be well for you and I take you as Raghunathji. You should keep something. Babaji you should not beg of anybody and Sir, Prabhati is also averse to you and all are against you. I know them but you do not know. Though they did not agree, I myself made you the Mahanta. They were all complaining against you and none was in your favour. All were one in the temple and forcibly I had given you the temple. You need not talk this with anybody. After reading this letter please do not give it to anybody. Kindly keep this matter within yourself and do not disclose it to anyone. And Babaji there is one more prayer of mine before you. Kindly keep this whole thing. The whole temple is yours. The temple is your property. You should take it as such. I have made you the Mahanta. I have made the *sankalp* (trust) into your hands. Therefore, nobody can have any dispute with you. None can interfere.

11. Sastri, Hariprasta., Ramayana of Valmiki, Shanti Sadan, London, Vol. III, p. 174.
12. Ibid.
13. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak*, pp. 85–6.
14. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, p. 240.
15. Statement made by Raj Kumar Jī, the present *mahānta* of this maṭha in a personal interview with the author in March 1977 at Manesar.
16. J.C. French, 'Frescoes in Punch', *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, pp. 20–2.

CHAPTER III

TECHNIQUES, THEMES AND ANALYSIS

The paintings executed on the walls of palaces and temples under Dogra rule show a highly evolved technique and a fundamental understanding of the principles of decorating walls. These techniques originated in the rock paintings of early man in Madhya Pradesh, while the classical expression of the style is found at Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh. This tradition was adopted for painting on palace and temple walls, as evidenced from literary sources, though the extant remains only date to the early mediaeval period. The Dogra wall paintings reflect this continuity of tradition.

In the western Himalaya, no wall paintings exist in caves or on the natural surfaces of rocks or mountain-sides. All of them have been painted on walls made either of brick or stone. The temples at Sui Simbli, Bhurj, Jammu, Mule Chak, Miran Sahib and Purmandal are all constructed of stone, and the Ramnagar palace has stone outer walls lined inside with small bricks. The breadth of the walls varied; those built with royal patronage are much broader than the others. The walls of later buildings tend to be less thick, as can be seen at the Raghunāth-Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, which has thinner walls than those for example at Purmandal, although the former was also built by a *mahārāṇī*.

Paintings are often found on the ceilings which are sometimes panelled with wood, and so are wooden doors covered with paintings.

The fresco secco as well as the tempera technique has been adopted. Samples from the wall paintings on the *maṭha* of Manesar and temples located in Mule Chak, the Rādhākṛṣṇa Temple at Rathna, Sui Simbli, Bhurj, and the Ramnagar palace, have been chemically analysed.[1] This analysis shows that the most commonly used plaster consisted of brick powder, marble dust and lime. The only place where occasional use of vegetable fibre and gypsum is noticeable is Ramnagar Palace. Generally two layers of plaster were applied, with the first coat made of brick powder, lime, and occasionally vegetable fibre. The second coat was of lime sometimes reinforced with marble dust. Steatitic clay, which was popularly used as a plastering material in the western Himalaya, was absent from these samples. Sand was also rarely used.

The first layer of plaster seems to have been prepared in pits where the ingredients were thoroughly ground into a thick paste which was then applied wet on the walls. Lime plaster also appears to have been soaked in pits dug on construction sites and kept there for a few days and sometimes even for months. When the mixture became sufficiently soft it was ground in the pits or in iron mortars of the type still used all over northern India. When the lime acquired the consistency of a fine paste, it was applied to the walls with wooden applicators. Care was taken to see that the roughness of the first plastering and the remaining crevices and joints were smoothly and evenly covered by the second coat. After the drawing and colouring was done, the wall was sprayed with coconut water. Although there is a sheen in the wall paintings at Sui Simbli as well as at Miran Sahib no trace of varnish has been found. It appears that this gleam was due to the wall surface being burnished with agates or occasionally conch shells. Glue was generally used as an adhesive. No trace of molasses or honey has been found here.

At Sui Simbli, Bhurj, Manesar, Raghunāth-Jī-*ka mandir*, Jammu, Mule Chak and Miran Sahib, the technique of painting is fresco secco while the tempera technique was employed at Ramnagar. *Mohrā kāshī* (wall painting on a brick surface) does not seem to have acquired a foothold over here. This technique was popularized by Rajasthani artists in the Panjab and was employed for painting on brick walls. Even though the paintings in the Rām-Jī-*ka mandir*, Pirkhon, in Jammu city, are supposed to have been done by Rajasthani artists, the *mohrā kāshī* technique does not appear to have been used. The paintings on wooden ceilings and door frames were executed after these surfaces were rubbed smooth.

Black *siahi* or ink made of charcoal, and fine brushes made of animal hair were used to draw with on the wet plaster. In many cases the drawing has

also been outlined in maroon. There is no sign of drawings being transferred to the walls from *khākās* or stencils but we cannot rule them out, specially where entire verandah walls have been covered with large drawings, as at the Raghunāth Jī temple at Sui Simbli. Here it is very likely that stencils were used to draw the outlines of the big narrative panels. It is unlikely that live models were used except perhaps for portraits, but a number of drawings of human figures, cattle, arms, hands and architecture now existing in museums, could easily have been kept as models.

The most remarkable feature of the drawing in this area, like the rest of the Pāhāḍī style of both miniature and wall paintings, is that it is linear and lyrical. Even in those centres where the colours have faded, the natural power and rhythm of the composition is not lost. The lyricism is epitomized by the willowy *nāyikās*, languishing for their lovers, in the Śiva Pārvatī temple at Purmandal (Fig. 52), or standing arrogant with fulfilment in the Ramnagar Palace (Fig. 106). The drawings of birds and trees also have this lyrical quality in almost all the centres (Fig. 10). Yet the Dogra murals are not effeminate like the almost contemporary miniatures painted at Awadh, but full of great strength and vitality wherever a powerful theme demands it.

The quality of the drawing at various centres depends very much on their date. In the earlier wall paintings the line is very fine and delicate, as in the temple at Bhurj, in illustrations of Rāma and Sītā after their marriage (Fig. 14), and of the ladies in Janaka's palace shown in Sītā's *svayaṁvarā* (Pl. VI). In the Raghunāth-Jī temple at Sui Simbli, the procession of Rāma and Rāma's *darbār* are again depicted with fine lines (Fig. 35 and Pl. XIV). In the Ramnagar palace paintings, the line is uniformly fine, as in an exquisite cameo of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna sitting in the forest. The delicate line in this centre does not become flaccid but is capable of great tautness and strength as seen in the drawings of Suchet Singh's horse (Pl. L) and in an illustration of Kṛṣṇa's armies fighting against Rukminī's father (Fig. 93).

Rounded lines are specially noticeable in the earliest paintings. At Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir* at Bhurj, the figure of Ahalyā doing obeisance to Rāma is a masterpiece of such line. Ahalyā is drawn almost egg-shaped, in a remarkably successful depiction of her emerging embryo-like from the stone enfolding her (Fig. 121). The earlier paintings were characterized by especially smoothly drawn edges. The artist shows great control over line in drawing the *lehngās* worn by the women. We see examples of this in the temples of Sui Simbli and Bhurj.

The line became gradually thicker and more angular in the wall painting of later periods. This is noticeable even in the Rām-Jī-*ka mandir* at Pirkhon, Jammu, which was probably painted *c.* 1830. This can be seen in a painting of Kṛṣṇa in his *Mohinī-rūp*. A painting of the three Dogra brothers—Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh—paying homage to a *mahātma* (Fig. 122), has this thick line. In Prem-Dās-*ki-samādhī* at Sui Simbli, the thick line verges on the folk (Fig. 44). Some angularity of line is noticeable in Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu, though most panels have well-rounded lines as in Rāma's *darbār*, Rāma and Sītā leaving for the forest (Fig. 76), and crossing the river (Pl. XXIV). Other panels depicting Rāvaṇa's courtiers waking up Kumbhakarṇa and Kumbhakarṇa's visit to Rāvaṇa's *darbār* (Fig. 81) the women's dresses, Rāvaṇa and his generals' beards and the battle formations of Rāvaṇa's and Rāma's armies, are drawn with a markedly angular line.

In Manesar, which is close to Jammu, there is again a mingling of rounded as well as angular lines. In panels depicting the *vastra-haraṇa* of the *gopīs,* the *gopīs'* skirts, hanging from the tree in which Kṛṣṇa is hidden, are rounded (Fig. 109). Angular lines appear in panels depicting the killing of Harinya Kaśipu and an illustration of Rāma's monkey armies (Fig. 114). In Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir* at Mule Chak, in paintings executed towards the end of the nineteenth century, the drawing has become quite angular as seen from a depiction of the infant Kṛṣṇa being carried to Yaśodā's home in Vrindāvana. Even female attendants are drawn with angular lines (Fig. 123), lacking the casual grace of the human figures of the Raghunāth-Jī temples at Bhurj or Jammu, and seeming to sit or stand in formal poses as seen from the figures of Laila and Majnun (Fig. 124) and a *rākṣasī* (Fig. 69).

Straight lines are confined to the later period, as at Mule Chak. Geometrical lines and cubes as in the Devī *mural* (Fig. 125) of Kulu in Himachal Pradesh, do not appear here on a large scale. The effort on the whole is to confine panels into squares, both vertical and horizontal.

Modelling and shading is evident in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir* at Sui Simbli. The figures of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, clothed in leaves during their sojourn in the forest, are shown with stubble delicately shaded in Fig. 126. Shading is employed on the faces of male figures, even in scenes of the hell of Lord Yama, and

also on the faces of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, Jammu.

It is common even now for red to be prepared from a local clay known as *hurmachi* (a type of iron oxide), and *sandhuri* (red lead). *Singharfi*—another shade of red—is still made from cinnabar, red sulphide or mercury. Yellow is produced either from a yellow clay or *hartial*, a yellow mineral of the arsenic group. *Peorhi*, made of cow urine, was also used for making a yellow colour. Green consisted of a powdered green stone known as *sangh-i-sabz*. White was extracted from marble chips, ground conch shells and of course, lime (*chunam*). For black, soot was obtained from lighted earthen lamps filled with mustard oil, just as *kohl* or *kājal* is still made. Charcoal was also used. Blue was made from indigo. Gold, which is very commonly used in the earlier wall paintings at Sui Simbli and Ramnagar, was gold leaf usually applied with gum, or used in a solution. Chemical analysis of some specimens show however that the red consisted of red lead, the green of green earth, the blue of ultramarine mixed with white, the black was lamp black, the white was made of chalk, the brown was haematite, and the yellow, yellow ochre. The colours were mixed either with water or with a lime solution. It is not certain whether gum was used.

The artists seem to have had in their mind's eye a complete scheme of the colours that they wanted before they started applying them. This is evident from those figures where the colours were never eventually applied, but on which the names of certain colours were written, signifying the artist's intention of colouring them in. The colour scheme was to a certain extent circumscribed by set principles. It was generally held that compositions should be on white backgrounds. White is universally considered to symbolize innocence, those who have not yet lived, and also the dead. It also symbolizes completeness and nothingness. In addition, the artists here felt that it could be employed to coalesce a number of strong colours; that it was an essential ingredient for colour harmony. In some of the finest paintings in this region, white backgrounds have been employed with great effect.

Colour is also employed to give depth to compositions. Some illustrations in the Ramnagar palace provide the epitome of this concept. In one painting the courtyard and lawns of the palace are a deep green (Pl. XLII). The figures of women strolling in the compound are generally painted in combinations of orange, gold, and maroon. The palatial buildings forming the background are a stark white. The panel clearly shows depth in three planes.

Living amidst beautiful surroundings, the artists had a true appreciation of natural colouring, which is displayed in their colour combinations. An illustration of a wounded Jaṭāyu being questioned by Rāma and Sītā in Raghunāth Lakṣmana Jī's-*mandir*, Jammu, is a very fine instance of this naturalistic palette. Colours like maroon, *naswārī*, olive green, yellow, and black, have been used in almost all the centres of painting most effectively.

The colours are evenly spread and do not form concentrated or light patches. The quality of colouring, however, varies from centre to centre, almost all of which have an individual stamp. The strength of the colours and their innate harmony and coherence also varies from place to place.

In the temple at Bhurj, a variety of colours have been employed but unfortunately their lustre has been affected by the damp. The artists have used here coloured backgrounds of blue, pale yellow, and occasionally white. White backgrounds are generally utilized for large epic compositions as of the *yamaloka* or the fight between the *rākṣasas* and the *devatās* for *amṛt* (Fig. 22). Blue is also used frequently for the background. A sophisticated mixture of colours has generally been used, for instance, different shades of blue to indicate the various levels and planes of a composition. In a scene of Rāma and Sītā being felicitated after their marriage, the foreground is painted in white, the middle ground in deep blue, and the sky midnight blue (Fig. 14). Olive green, *naswārī* and deep yellow are the other colours frequently used.

In the temple at Sui Simbli some of the paintings are directly exposed to the sun and are badly faded. Many paintings, however, retain a translucent quality. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa dressed as hermits are painted in grey and green, enhancing the effect of serenity. A painting of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna supervising the construction of a bridge to Laṁka has many shades of yellow and chocolate brown (Pl. XIII). Rāma's *darbār*, painted in yellow, gold and *naswārī*, exudes joy and grandeur although there is hardly any use of red or purple (Pl. XIV). Shades of green and *naswārī* are employed in illustrating the pastoral themes of the Kṛṣṇa-leela (Pl. XV).

In the small *samādhī* at Sui Simbli, the painting is more earthy and the colours used a dull and deep *naswārī*, green and orange. An illustration of Kaliya madhamardhana displays a harmonious combination of such colours (Pl. XVI). Paintings of Kṛṣṇa stealing

butter from the *gopīs* (Pl. XVII) and Kāliyā madhamardhana employ effectively bottle green and *nāswarī* (Pls. XVII and XVI).

The paintings in Suchet Singh's palace at Ramnagar have the greatest variety of colour combinations; the three rooms containing murals each have a different colour scheme. In the *darbār* hall brown, yellow, green, red, orange and deep blue predominate. Most of the paintings in this hall are on contrasting backgrounds; Kṛṣṇa's wedding with Rukminī has a bottle-green foreground and white background (Pl. XLII). A painting of Viṣṇu and Lakśmī is executed on a white foreground and blue background (Pl. XL), with gold generously used to highlight the grandeur of the occasion. Suchet Singh's *darbārs* are painted on dark-yellow and white backgrounds which, combined with the gold brocade of his clothes, emphasize their magnificence (Pl. XLVI). Vacant spaces on the walls and ceiling are painted bright red, gold, blue and green, and are often interspersed with mirrors.

In the bedroom suite of Suchet Singh's palace the first room is covered with red, gold and blue floral designs. The panels, consisting of compositions with figures, peep from the rich background tapestry like twinkling stars, or like jewels studded in a rich carpet. The colour schemes employed in illustrating human themes are marked by three distinct features. In a few there is an emphasis on green which is generally combined with yellow. Two illustrations in particular of life in the forest, of Śiva (Pl. XLVIII), and Rāma (Pl. XLVII), employ various shades of green, ranging from light green and sea green to a deep parrot-green and bottle-green. The background of these panels is in light shades of green while the vegetation is painted darker shades of green. The upper half of these compositions has a yellow background. The most popular colour combination for backgrounds, however, seems to be red and yellow. Suchet Singh's wedding (Pl. XLIII) and *darbār* scenes (Pl. XLVI) display these combinations at their best. The artist's mastery of the colour schemes of red and gold is also evident in a composition of Holī revelry (Pl. LII) in which clouds of *gulāl* successfully convey the true mood of Holī. In nearly all the other panels different colours are used to indicate various planes in the composition. The majority of paintings show a blue sky, while trees usually have a green background and brown or green colours are used for the earth. These complementary colours define the coherence or unity of the picture. In addition, they give depth to compositions, as in a painting of an army gathering in marching formation (Pl. XLIX): here the foreground is yellow, the courtyard green and the background against which the army appears is black, not only highlighting the white and red colours of the soldiers' uniforms but also giving it a sombre touch, although the panel is surrounded by a rich red floral design.

In the small ante-room to the bedroom, the soothing yellow and red *lehngās* of *nāyikās* leaning against linear wind-blown trees, creates an effect of extreme grace (Fig. 106). Similarly, the few soldiers wearing British-style uniforms in white and red harmonize with their bright red and gold backgrounds (Fig. 104). The only discordant note is produced by the prints of buxom English country girls incongruously peeping from the splendid oriental red backgrounds (Fig. 105).

A stucco effect has been very delicately employed to give a three-dimensional effect to the jewellery in some paintings done in this palace, specially those in the *darbār* hall. Illustrations of Rukminī-*haraṇa* are fine instances of this.

The Rām-Jī-kā *mandir* at Pirkhon in Jammu, although a comparatively early centre of wall painting, has a limited and poor colour scheme. The colours used are dull *naswārī*, bottle green and blue. Blue is however delicately employed to give depth to a composition, as in the illustration of Viṣṇu distributing *amṛt* in his Mohinī *rūp* (Pl. XVIII).

The paintings in the Raghunāth Jī *mandir* in Jammu have the best preserved colours. This may possibly be because these paintings are in a room which is still being used. The colours are evenly applied, and generally used in their pure form, with the exception of a purple which may be a mixture of red and blue. Most other colours like red, green, yellow, orange, black and indigo blue are in their unmixed condition. All the panels are painted on white backgrounds. When scenes of distant gently-undulating hills are painted outlined in green or orange, the white background creates an impressionistic effect of space, as seen in an illustration of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā crossing the river (Pl. XXIV). The serenity of a hermit's life is brought out by an effective combination of earth colours like brown, green, and *naswārī* with a tinge of orange (Pl. XXVIII) while bright red, yellow and gold were employed to create magnificent illustrations of Rāma's *darbār*.

In Manesar a great variety of colours—red, *naswārī*, green, orange, brown, yellow and royal blue, are all effectively utilized. The colour has been thickly applied, but lacks the luminous quality found

in some other centres. The illustrations of Rāvaṇa and his *rākṣas* army (Pl. LIII), and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in a chariot (Fig. 114) are brightly coloured, but there is no attempt to create colour harmonies.

In the temple at Mule Chak again, a number of striking colours have been used, such as yellow, *naswārī*, deep purple, blue and shades of green. These colours create a bright but flat effect as seen in the illustrations of Vāsudeva conveying Kṛṣṇa to the home of Yaśodā (Pl. XXI).

In both the Manesar and Mule Chak temples, the employment of unmixed colours has produced stability but gives a static flat quality to the paintings, despite the lively combinations of colours.

In the Rādhākṛṣṇa Temple, Miran Sahib, although the paintings are of quite late date, the application of colour is excellent, a combination of primary and sophisticated colours are very smoothly applied. In the entrance verandah to the temple and in the *pradakṣina*, simple *naswārī* and yellow combinations are utilized, as seen in an illustration of Parśurāma killing Sahasrabāhu (Pl. XXXVII). In the dome of the temple *sikhara* vivid blue, mauve, green and *naswārī* have been combined to produce very gay paintings. One of the best compositions in terms of colour is that of Rāma and Sītā seated on their throne after their return from exile (Fig. 92).

The walls do not appear to have been constructed specially for murals. They rarely have flat surfaces extending over large areas and are mostly interrupted by doors, windows and niches, except in the *darbār* hall of Ramnagar Palace and in the Sui Simbli temple. This places great constraints on the wall painter. Most of the compositions had to be done on the area available, anywhere on the wall, near the ceiling and on doors. The artists, however, showed great imagination in making the fullest use of whatever space was available. They chose themes appropriate for the physical area, like the *rāsa-līlā* dance, which is always painted on circular ceilings or arches. Compositions on the epic scale of the classical wall paintings for which large areas of rock surface were available for painting narrative panels, obviously could not be adopted in this region, although a few epic panels in the narrative style do exist on the walls of the Raghunāth Jī temple at Sui Simbli (Fig. 33).

The artists at other centres of wall painting also appear to have been aware of the classical tradition, and contrived to overcome the lack of large vacant wall space by an arrangement of horizontal and vertical panels spread over entire rooms to depict narrative tales, specially of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The narrative composition was also forced in many cases on the artist by the fact that most of the wall paintings were executed on temple walls, and both repetition and continuous narration of religious tales is necessary to make a deep impact on the devotee's mind. Hence the narrative style of painting in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir* in Jammu, in the temple at Bhurj, and in the *maṭha* at Manesar.

The artists also had recourse to depicting different parts of the story in the same composition. An illustration in the Raghunāth Jī temple, Jammu, of Rāma's and Lakṣmaṇa's return to their hut after killing the golden deer, is a good example (Pl. XXXIII). In this composition, on the right, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown standing grief-stricken in front of a vacant hut; on the left, they are seen questioning the dying Jaṭāyu, and in the background the two brothers are shown going in search of Sītā. Similar compositions can be seen in the illustrations of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fighting with their *vāṇar sena* against Rāvaṇa's forces in Raghunāth Jī's temple (Fig. 83).

These isometric compositions often do not pay any attention to the sequence of events either in time, or space. A very interesting example of this style is seen in a panel in Raghunāth Jī's temple illustrating the injury inflicted on Lakṣmaṇa by Meghnāth (Fig. 79). There are three separate compositions here. In the lowest, Hanumāna is shown flying in spite of his heavy body, holding a rock in his arms. In another section of the same panel he is illustrated carrying the *vaidya*, sleeping on a bed on his head; he is finally seen standing behind the *vaidya* who is examining Lakṣmaṇa. These occurrences obviously took place in different places, as well as time sequences.

A strangely modern effect is noticeable in the composition in the temples of Purmandal and Miran Sahib, one similar to early twentieth-century European art. In Purmandal, for example, each composition contains three figures at the most, and the stage is set with the symbols of architectural props, as illustrated in a depiction of Vasudeva carrying the newly-born Kṛṣṇa to Yaśodā's home (Pl. XXI). In the temple at Miran Sahib, most of the compositions contain just two figures, for instance Paraśurāma and Sahasrabāhu (Pl. XXXVII) Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (Fig. 89), or Rāma and Sītā (Fig. 92). The compositions are tightly knit, the background spare, and the human figures depicted more simply than in the Italian Renaissance and post-Renaissance tradition of painting.

The subdivisions are organized so that they add

coherence to compositions. Occasionally, the composition is crystallized around units that are individually self-contained, and determine the rest of the work, but are little influenced by it. For instance, the most important configuration in the composition is generally located at the right. An illustration of a weaver at his loom while his wife spins at the *charkhā* is a masterpiece of composition (Fig. 127). The woman, as the subsidiary element, sits on the left while the man is on the right. The hut is represented by an arch on the right. The entire composition has a modern air, with an element of the abstract; while the folk inheritance is represented by the peacocks, and that from classical art by the form of the human figures.

The treatment of space by our artists, specially when most of the compositions are confined to a limited physical area, is an important indicator of the quality of these wall paintings. In as far as isometric compositions are concerned, they themselves give the illusion of space. Amongst other devices employed to emphasize and create space, the use of colour is one of the most important. Employing white backgrounds for the main compositions as at Sui Simbli, Miran Sahib, Mule Chak, Manesar and Raghunāth Jī's *mandir*, Jammu, creates a feeling of space in the compositions. In the Ramnagar Palace paintings grey and blue backgrounds give depth to the paintings and hence impart space, and so does the division of compositions by two differently coloured backgrounds.

Another method used commonly in almost all the centres for the creation of space is the division of compositions by gently undulating rounded hills. This is seen in illustrations depicting Rāma's exile in Raghunāth-Jī's temple, Jammu (Fig. 85) and in Suchet Singh marching with his armies at Ramnagar Palace. The arrangement of trees and architecture also contrives to create space. An illustration of Kṛṣṇa returning with his cows (Fig. 128) at Rām-Jī-ka *mandir* is a remarkable instance of the creation of space by the use of cleverly-placed buildings on the left.

Another factor is the skilled grouping of figures, as in an illustration of Rāma's *darbār* at Sui Simbli (Pl. XIV and Fig. 129), where the musicians and the courtiers are drawn in a tightly knit composition. In the illustration of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the village *pāthśālā* found here, the arrangement of figures seated in various relaxed postures helps to give the effect of space necessary for school grounds (Fig. 41). In the Ramnagar Palace an illustration of Kṛṣṇa and *Govardhandhārana* with several different groupings of cowherds, cattle and *devatās* shows this principle at its best (Fig. 94).

Geometrical designs and angles have been effectively employed at several centres to create an extended feeling of space. In the *darbār* hall of the Ramnagar Palace, the impression of physical space has been cleverly engineered by the designs of brick-work painted between different panels (Fig. 130); this geometrical design is also employed on the ceiling. According to tradition the style has been adopted from the *papier mâché* artists of Srinagar. In old houses and mosques in Srinagar the technique has been used to decorate ceilings and walls. It appears to derive from simple carvings on wood as seen in the mosque of Naqshband Sahib (Fig. 131). The fact that similarly decorated ceilings also exist in the fort palace of Samode near Jaipur and in the Bikaner fort, makes such a possibility stronger. What is certain, however, is that at Ramnagar these designs succeed in giving unity to the painted panels and also create space. In Mule Chak (Pl. XXI) and Purmandal space is also created by geometrical angles and lines dividing different groups of figures in a single composition. This is seen in a river drawn diagonally, in an illustration of Vāsudeva carrying Kṛṣṇa, and the employment of lines to give space to a scene depicting couples (Pl. XX).

The use of borders to define space was a traditional technique employed by artists all over the world. To start with, it evolved out of the emancipation of pictorial space from the limitations of classical wall painting—confined to rock surfaces or large vacant walls bordered with pilasters and lintels—to paintings done on palm leaf and later on paper. The border was thought of not only for defining compositions but also for giving peep holes into vast vistas of space. In Dogra miniature painting, as well as in most of the other contemporary schools of miniature painting either beautiful floral or dark-coloured plain borders have been employed to create an illusion of space. The miniatures passed on the fashion of borders to nineteenth-century wall paintings. In the West, the solution to this problem was found during the Renaissance in the façade-like construction of lintels and pilasters that surrounded altar pieces, suggesting a frame.

The existence of alcoves and windows in the walls at Bhurj, Sui Simbli, Manesar and to a lesser extent at Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu, also helps to create a feeling of physical space. Niches give the impression of arches while the opening of a window lets in

the blue sky from outside into the room. Such an effect of space created by the use of landscape is nowhere better illustrated than at Manesar. The painted *baithak* of the *mahānta* opens out through a small window on the east to vast vistas of a large lake with hills in the background. This feature at once transforms the mundane wall paintings in the *baithak* into something of romantic beauty. Such a method for creating space was also commonly used in the fifteenth and sixteenth-century European wall painting tradition. In the Stanza dell'Incendio painted by Raphael and Giulio Romano in the Vatican, two windows placed just below the fresco of the 'Fire in the Borgo' create the impression of wide areas inside the room, while the windows open out on to, and so bring within the painting, the world outside.

Objects have also been utilised to create a sense of space. This is specially true at Manesar, Mule Chak and in the *samādhī* at Sui Simbli. At Manesar in an illustration of Sarasvatī, by placing the *haṁsa* or swan and a melon on the ground, a sense of the earth as well as spaciousness has been created (Fig. 113). In the *samādhī* at Sui Simbli, together with illustrations of the *rāsa-līla, makhan-chorī* and of angels on horses, a sense of space has been created by peacocks and birds being placed intermittently on otherwise blank walls.

A novel method of creating space found at Manesar, is by having a room decorated with painted floral designs on its walls, before the room containing the frescoes. The first room, which has only outlines and occasionally floral geometrical designs painted in it, cerates a restful mood before the second room, crowded with paintings, is entered.

The compositions have an optical balance, in that almost all converge towards a central figure whether it be Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or a royal personage. Even in the scenes of *Yamaloka* painted at Bhurj and Sui Simbli there is visual convergence on the centre, where a female with a tortured expression and snakes coming out of various orifices of her body is shown. In panels at Raghunāth Jī's temple at Jammu where isometric compositions have been attempted, while each composition has its own optical balance, the idea of a central character still persists, however remotely he may be placed in a corner of the painting, as in an illustration of Kumbhakarṇa destroying Rāma's armies, where Rāma is shown seated with Lakṣmaṇa in a tent in the upper left-hand corner of the painting (Fig. 83). One's gaze is drawn to the figures of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in spite of the large size of the *rākṣasa*. The artists were familiar with the idea of pictorial counterpoint, and tried to balance a dominant force against a subordinate one. Kumbhakarṇa asleep in a cave, as depicted in Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu, is the pictorical focus, and Śūrpaṇakhā's entrance into the palace is a subordinate element. It would be correct to say that the artists have succeeded in achieving a visual balance which derives from a pattern of directed forces that have been balanced, ordered and unified into an organic whole. The compositions form an ordered and organic whole, each element is a necessary and unifying part of the composition, and there is nothing extraneous and therefore invalid within the work.

The artists were aware of the principles of perspective. The way hills, villages and trees are presented at a distance (Fig. 132) shows consciousness of aerial perspective. In most cases figures in the foreground are larger than those in the background, following the rules of photographic perspective. At the same time, central perspective is observed by the arrangement of hills and trees in a triangular pattern with the ground projecting outward. It is also achieved by the use of architectural details as is best illustrated in three panels depicting Sītā's *svayaṁvara* at Raghunāth-Jī's temple, Bhurj (Pl. IV). In a depiction of Rāma with his Gāndiva bow in hand confronting Parasurāma, the entire action is provided by the placing of a big palace in the background. On the left, from the upper balconies of the palace, princesses and *rājās* watch what is going on below. Giving depth as well as providing perspective, in the middle of this composition a guard stands in a doorway (Fig. 133).

In most of these wall paintings, the source of light is located within the picture. Light or '*jyotī*' establishes the centre of the confined world of the painting. As most of the paintings do not have a surface texture because they have been rubbed smooth, the effect of a glow is the more easily created, and the eye moves swiftly from object to object.

Pictorial light has first of all been created by the effective employment of colour. The artists have achieved this by painting the white backgrounds we have earlier noted at Raghunāth-Jī's temple; or, as at Sui Simbli, by using yellow. In Ramnagar the sky is beautifully lit by dark and light shades of the same colour, or by patches of white and yellow against a dark blue background. When different colours are used for the background of a single panel, it also gives a lighter effect to a painting. Even when the backgrounds are painted one colour as in Rām-Jī-*kā mandir*, Jammu, light is created by using different

shades of the same colour—the paler shades giving the effect of light. This is best illustrated in the painting of Viṣṇu distributing *amṛt* to the *devatās* (Pl. XVIII). The halos around the heads of kings and legendary heroes like Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna are usually painted a dark mustard to give the effect of gold or light.

Light creates space, and the white, shaded and mixed backgrounds in these paintings, mostly on a small scale and often confined within niches, give them a feeling of space. The size of the room is also increased by the intelligent use of light colours. Using shadows to convey the presence of sun- or moonlight is not a frequent device here although it was common in Mughal painting. The sheen of the final coat of plaster on the wall gives an impression of light; this is very effectively depicted in an illustration of Parśurāma killing Sahasrabāhu in the Rādhākṛṣṇa temple at Miran Sahib (Pl. XXXVII).

One of the most difficult things to convey through an object like a painting is sensory perception. Such perceptions are derived from paintings by the associations evoked by moving objects, such as birds and human figures flying in the air, which frequently occur in these paintings. Movement was, however, indicated not only through such objects that are obviously associated with it, but also through perceptual qualities connected with movement like the shape, direction, and brightness of objects. The figures of *devatās* and *asurās* fighting for *amṛt* in the Bhurj temple and devils boiling people in oil in *Yamaloka* both at Bhurj and Sui Simbli, very effectively suggest movement through perceptual qualities of this kind. The shape of the *rākṣasas'* torsos, the placing of their own and their victims' legs conveys a great deal of movement (Fig. 82). Movement and excitement is depicted at Raghunāth Jī's *mandir* in an illustration of a violent battle scene where Rāvaṇa is seen in the left-hand corner directing operations. Here several groups of figures are shown in separate activities, all of them intensely vigorous (Pl. XXVI).

Movement is not suggested by the use of objects associated with it alone, but as skilled craftsmen, the artists also impart dynamic tension, employing wedge and curved shapes, and oblique lines to intensify a sense of movement and activity. This is specially noticeable in a few panels found in Gopal *mandir*, Bhurj, illustrating Rāma stretching the Gandiva bow to win Sītā's hand (Pl. V), Kṛṣṇa with a stick (Fig. 134) and Viṣṇu ploughing (Fig. 135). Animals are also often a means of indicating movement. This can be seen in the painting of Kṛṣṇa destroying Dawanal *rākṣasa*, where the cows quietly grazing before the *rākṣasa*'s arrival are all shown running with fright towards him (Fig. 136). The painting of Devī killing *rākṣasa* Mahiṣāsura in Bhurj also has the tiger in a position indicating violent movement.

Similarly, leaves and flowers are often utilized for indicating growth, and through it, movement. This is very clearly seen in an illustration of Rāma having a thorn in his foot taken out by Hanumāna and Lakṣmaṇa at Ramnagar (Pl. XLVII).

In formal compositions like *darbār* scenes as at Raghunāth-Jī's temple, Jammu, and in the Ramnagar Palace, the human figures shown converging on the king impart some life and movement to otherwise formal and stiff compositions (Pl. XLVI).

The wall painter of the Dogra area knew how to utilize the stroboscopic effect. Stroboscopic motion is perceived when objects which are essentially alike in appearance differ in some perceptual feature, for example, in location, size or shape. In these wall paintings human figures are often shown in different shapes and sizes in different sections of a single composition, thus giving an impression of time passing as well as of arrested time. This is best illustrated in one of the compositions at Raghunāth-Jī's temple, where a small Rāma is shown sitting peacefully in front of his hut in one corner of the painting, while in another part of the same panel, where he is depicted fighting the *rākṣasa*, his size has been greatly enlarged. The *rākṣasas* have also been blown up to great proportions in this composition (Figs. 83 and 84).

The solitary figures of human beings like *nāyaks* and *nāyikās* are often employed to indicate movement in a set of otherwise static horizontal and vertical panels, and also to break up a rigid arrangement of such panels, in almost all the centres of painting. This has been done most effectively at Manesar (Fig. 137) and in the paintings of *nāyikās* and soldiers in the Ramnagar Palace (Figs. 104 and 106). The device has also been utilized in the paintings at Raghunāth Jī's *mandir*, Jammu, where panels of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as well as a portrait of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh have been introduced for this purpose.

Another way of depicting movement is through expression. It is in fact the primary content of the artist's vision; a painting may be technically perfect but without expression it would be as dull as a dead thing. A person's face is more readily perceived to be alert, tense or sad, than oblong, or with slanting eyebrows or perfect lips. Even the inanimate world

has forms which help to create the mood of sadness, love and longing.

The Dogra wall painters were skilled at depicting the inner feelings of their human characters; expressions of anguish, pain, anger and terror look out at us from these walls. In a panel showing the exiled Rāma leaving Ayodhyā, the anguish felt by Daśaratha, Sītā and the palace watchman is graphically and movingly delineated (Figs. 76 and 138). Sūrpaṇakhā's wrathful expression and the violence in the figures and faces of the *rākṣasas* fighting Rāma's armies in Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu, are other examples of their skill (Pl. XXV and Fig. 139). In Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Sui Simbli, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa exude serenity (Figs. 78 and 140) and at Bhurj fright appears on the cowherds' faces when Kṛṣṇa emits fire (Fig. 141). Similarly, in the temple at Miran Sahib, Sahasrabāhu's face when he is being attacked by Paraśurāma shows extreme fright (Pl. XXXVII). More subtle expressions like a trace of royal hauteur can be spotted on the face of Raja Suchet Singh, and even on his soldiers' faces in the Ramnagar Palace paintings (Fig. 142). Bewilderment can be seen on Sītā's face in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, Jammu (Fig. 143). The paintings at Mule Chak are not as fine in their depiction of expression though there is a certain amount of movement in the drawing of legs and arms.

A great deal of expression is shown in the animals, especially the cows and deer, which are drawn with great sensitivity and feeling. Ornamental trees suggest a happy mood, in the Ramnagar painting of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā sitting in a forest (Pl. XLVII), while a tree's drooping branches symbolise dejection and sadness, as in the trees in the Raghunāth-Jī *mandir* painting where Rāma is shown after Sītā's abduction (Pl. XXXIII). Some of the artist's most lyrical creations were trees (Fig. 78).

The quality of a painted composition also depends on the use it makes of different elements to constitute a complete whole. In the nineteenth-century Indian painting tradition, landscape does not form a subject on its own, unlike the pre-Impressionist and Impressionist French and British painters of the nineteenth century. The central theme here is always man—not even woman, who does play an important part in miniature painting. The human figures are not only the focus of the paintings; they also take the maximum space. The landscape provides the setting for them: hills, trees, valleys and rivers are generally part of the background and add a spatial dimension, lend perspective, and occasionally movement to the composition. By providing a frame, they give tightness to a composition which may otherwise seem a chaotic and incoherent depiction of several episodes of the same story. This is best illustrated in a painting of Kṛṣṇa after Govardhandhārana in Ramnagar Palace (Fig. 94). Animals also play a subordinate part, either as mounts or companions for human beings, or as a necessary part of the story. For example, whenever Śiva and Pārvatī are seen in a forest, Nandī, their *vāhana*, invariably accompanies them (Pl. XLVIII). Similarly buildings, whether palaces or huts, serve to give depth to the painting, determine perspective, and also, occasionally, to create an illusion of space. Buildings are generally depicted in a more complex and two-dimensional manner in the older paintings of Ramnagar (Fig. 78), Rām-Jī *kā mandir*, Jammu and Bhurj, but are a very simplified prop at Purmandal, Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, Jammu, and later on at Manesar. The artists often managed to suggest the effect of vast spaces by depicting entire villages in the corner of the painting, as seen in a Ramnagar illustration of Rāma's return to Ayodhyā. It must, however, be said that the Pahāḍī artists did not paint these 'props' in a casual manner; great attention was paid to detail and symmetry, as is shown in the delicate drawings done on Rāma's palace walls in the Bhurj temple (Fig. 13).

The most important characteristic of Dogra wall painting is that it is primarily religious, and is, with the exception of Ramnagar Palace and the *maṭha* at Manesar, found almost exclusively in temples. The thematic content, almost everywhere, is predominantly sacred. A study of the iconography of these paintings is therefore important to determine its value as a vehicle for religious propagation.

There is a tendency among art historians to dismiss the iconography of Indian painting by stating that the artists followed the canons laid down in the Chitrasutra portion of the Vishnudharmottaram. The iconography of Pahāḍī painting has not been studied in depth. Art historians have at the same time imposed the burden of a stereotyped master plan on an art which was most vibrant, vital and distinctive. A careful analysis of the iconography of Pahāḍī painting, with the Dogra wall paintings in mind, indicates that there was no blind pursuit of the canons laid down in the Chitrasutra by the creators of these paintings. The Chitrasutra enunciates certain broad principles of beauty and good drawing and painting which have been invariably followed in art forms all over the world. When we come to application of the particulars mentioned in the Chitrasutra, we find that there are many differences in Pahāḍī painting in

general from the canons laid down in this text.

First of all, the Chitrasutra clearly states[2] that in private residences or portions of the palace meant for the exclusive use of the *rājā*, inauspicious illustrations like battle scenes are not to be painted, yet in the Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bed-room contains several panels depicting battles.

A basic tenet in the Chitrasutra is the standardization of human figures, both male and female. It lays down that rulers, celestial beings, and religious persons are to be portrayed in different stances with distinct types of dress and headgear.[3] This is generally the practice in all art forms otherwise it would not be possible to differentiate between religious characters, distinguished men, and ordinary mortals. In Pahāḍī painting these differences are not substantiated in every detail laid down in the Chitrasutra. For example, *devatās* are not supposed to be crowned, and are always to be seen with their hair loose.[4] In an illustration of the confrontation between *devatās* and *rākṣasas* for the possession of *amṛt* at Bhurj temple, all the *devatās* have been given crowns (Fig. 144). Again, according to the Chitrasutra, *devatās* are not expected to wear any garments above the waist. This formula is generally observed, but in the Ramnagar Palace *darbār* hall paintings Kṛṣṇa wears a large coat in the panel depicting his abduction of Rukminī (Pl. XXXIX), and in most centres of Dogra wall painting Viṣṇu in his various incarnations is always seen wearing an upper garment which is like the *angavastra* worn even now by men in southern India.

The Chitrasutra has stated in great deail that traders must be shown wearing turbans and musicians wearing bright and gaudy clothes.[5] In the Dogra wall paintings the musicians at least are shown invariably wearing the same dress as most people belonging to the less well-to-do sections of society.

As far as the female form is concerned, according to the Chitrasutra, it should be shown in a stance with the weight on one foot, and the two feet placed together.[6] In most cases, in our paintings the women's feet are not visible at all, as they have been shown wearing long *lehṇgās*. In a few instances, the feet are visible but there is no suggestion that the weight rests on one foot. Similarly, princesses must have in their retinue dwarfs, hunchbacks, elderly women, and beautiful ladies with an old chamberlain,[7] but Sītā and Rukminī are shown in the Bhurj temple and the Ramnagar Palace with retinues of young and equally beautiful ladies without any dwarfs, hunchbacks, or old men or women as escorts.

The Chitrasutra goes into great detail[8] about the different types of eye to be portrayed; in most Dogra wall paintings we find only two types of eye: one with a gentle expression, as seen in a painting of Rāma and Sītā seated in a palace terrace in the Raghunāth-Jī *mandir*, Bhurj (Figs. 13 and 14), or the rounded eyes given to *rākṣasas* in Fig. 82. The iconography in the Dogra paintings is similar to that of Pahāḍī miniatures. Representations of Śīva in a flat iconographical form, wearing only a half *dhotī* and naked above the waist, are also typical of Pahāḍī miniatures (Fig. 66). Devī is generally illustrated either seated on a lotus, or in her Mahiṣamardinī aspect, riding a tiger. She is fair-skinned and her dress invariably consists of a red *sarī* worn in present day Maharashtrian style. A few interesting inconographic deviations do exist. In the *samādhī* of Bābā Prem Dās at Sui Simbli, Hanumāna is depicted walking in front of the Devī seated on her *vāhana*, the tiger.

Rāma appears the most frequently in these paintings. He is almost always shown with a crown on his head, even when exiled in the forest (Fig. 78), although sometimes when he is seen as a forest hermit, the crown is made of leaves, as in the main temple at Sui Simbli (Figs. 33 and 126). Lakṣmaṇa is similarly dressed, and Sītā is attired generally in a *sarī* and occasionally in a *lehṇgā*. In the Rāmayāṇa, Hanumāna enters the story after Rāma has been exiled to the forest, and most Pahāḍī paintings associate Hanumāna iconographically with. Rāma after this point. In Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, Jammu, however, there is an interesting variation as Hanumāna is shown escorting Rāma's chariot just after he has left Daśaratha's palace (Fig. 75). Hanumāna is, however, shown in the set iconographic mode, yellow-skinned and with white drawers.

An interesting iconographic concept is the illustration of *rākṣasas*. They are invariably depicted much bigger than the human figures, larger even than the gods. They are also shown as grotesque, horned figures, dark complexioned—usually blue or black—and scantily dressed in drawers or brief *dhotīs*. Their women are depicted with very big horned heads and protruding teeth: their evil natures are reflected in their looks.

Changing fashions in dress and style were shown in these paintings even if the artists had to deviate from ritual iconographic modes. Characters in the Rāmāyaṇa are often shown wearing nineteenth-century costumes and Sikh hair styles. For example, in Raghunāth-Jī's temple, Purani Mandi, Jammu,

there is an illustration of the Nishada king Guha offering a boat to Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa to cross the Gangā, in which Guha is shown with a beard (Pl. XXIV).

Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and other figures associated with the Kṛṣṇa legend are all however painted in the traditional mode, and Kṛṣṇa is usually coloured darker than the other figures.

The second important characteristic of Dogra wall paintings is the influence of folk art. In fact, the folk and courtly styles are so intermingled that it would be difficult to delink them and separate the elements. Folk art is essentially non-élitist, rural, traditional and to a certain extent the art of peasants, herdsmen, artisans and small tradesmen living, as a rule, away from urban centres. With the exception of Jammu, there were hardly any other conurbations in this area. The artists themselves were mostly artisans from rural backgrounds. The courts were also not as formal as the Muslim courts, hence the basic folk and traditional forms were bound to find a place even in sophisticated paintings done on palace walls.

Various elements of folk art are present in these wall paintings, starting from their thematic content. In folk art everywhere, there is a celebration of what is recurrent in the community's life. The daily routine of life, more specially the basics of existence, like the changing seasons, the cycle of birth, marriage and death, the celebration of fairs and festivals, and, what is most important, the daily ritual of listening to mythological tales, in India to the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, is portrayed. In these wall paintings, the recurrent themes in the Rāmāyaṇa illustrations are of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, their exile, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's fights with the *rākṣasas*, and finally Rāma's coronation. These themes are found illustrated in almost all the temples, *maṭhas*, and palaces. Similarly, in illustrations of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, Kṛṣṇa's birth and childhood in Vrindāvana in pastoral surroundings typical of the hills, were subjects that appealed to the artists. Among fairs and festivals, the most popular appears to be the festival of colour celebrated in spring, namely Holī.

The use of folk symbols is also repeatedly noted in these paintings. In the Bhurj temple, for example, the representation of animals, insects and birds is contrary to the requirements of pictorial proportion, for instance, the big scorpion in hell shows a peculiarly folk touch. In Sui Simbli, both in the main temple and in the *samādhī*, the depiction of big birds and peacocks, painted within the panels showing a weaver at his loom (Fig. 31) and Kṛṣṇa stealing butter (Fig. 43) again has a touch of folk art. Even in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, while Rāma fights the *rākṣasās* ferociously in battle after battle in different panels, the big birds in the background are dissôciated and relaxed (Pl. XXV). In one painting (Pl. XXVI) there is a rather hilarious Hanumāna flying through the air bearing a mountain with the life-giving *sanjīvanī* plant, which definitely is a folk element.

In Manesar, Purmandal and Mule Chak, the folk element is even more prominent. In Manesar, for example, in a panel depicting Sarasvatī riding her *vāhana*, the swan, details such as the stance of the swan, the big bird placed in front of it, and a water melon in the foreground, are distinctly folk in origin. The shape of lotus flowers in a composition of Viṣṇu reclining on Seśnāg is again completely folk (Fig. 115); while a tiger sticking out its tongue in a third composition smacks of the irreverence associated with folk art (Fig. 116). In Mule Chak the form of the *rākṣasas* at whom Rāma has aimed an arrow is purely folk (Fig. 69). In Rām-Jī *kā mandir*, Jammu, the *matkas* placed in the background when Viṣṇu distributes nectar has folk connotations.

The folk element is evident not only in the choice of themes and in the symbols adopted but also in the use of earth colours. These colours, specially *naswārī*, olive green, black and turmeric yellow are evident at Rām-Jī-*kā mandir*, and at Raghunāth Jī's temples at Jammu and Sui Simbli, and are the predominant ones at Manesar, the *samādhī* at Sui Simbli and at Purmandal and Mule Chak. In Purmandal a deep maroon combined with a purple, locally known as *phālsā*, has been used for the tunics of soldiers guarding Devakī in Kaṁsa's palace (Pl. XXI). This colour is used in folk painting to the present day in the Panjab and western Himalaya. The line also has folk overtones—flat and thick lines have been used showing squat big-eyed figures as at Mule Chak (Fig. 69) and Rām-Jī- *kā Mandir*, Pirkhon, Jammu (Fig. 143).

Despite these folk elements, Dogra wall painting remains a sophisticated art. The constant interchange between the Jammu court and the later courts of the hill states of Himachal Pradesh which were patrons of a very polished style of wall painting, added a sophisticated touch to Dogra art, both in miniature and wall painting. The patronage of religious *maṭhas* or, what was more usually the case, the decoration of these *maṭhas* wth wall paintings, acted as a refining influence. This process had already occurred with Buddhist art in India and Christian and Byzantine art in Europe. Finally, the migration of artists from

Kangra, Guler and Chamba to Basholi and Jammu had a further influence in the shape of more refined, developed techniques.

The relationship of the wall paintings in this area with music, dance and local handicrafts has been quite distinctly established. Not much nineteenth-century sculpture has survived, but the sculpture existing in the Raghunāth-Jī temple in Jammu city, at Bhurj and Sui Simbli, Miran Sahib and Purmandal, is sophisticated and follows the iconographical patterns prescribed by the canonical *śāstra* texts. Embroidered *rumāls*, block-printed cloth, terracotta toys and handicrafts in cane, all reflect a common tradition of folk combined with sophisticated art forms. It is also interesting to note that the traditional painting was carried on not only on paper and on the walls but also existed on objects made of wood. These objects were not only household articles like boxes for storage and children's toys but also ornamental wooden screens used to partition rooms. A wooden screen with paintings (Fig. 146) was discovered in the old palace of Mahārājā Gulab Singh in Jammu city and is now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. The style of painting used here is very similar to that of our wall paintings. This comparison extends not only to themes such as Vāsudeva taking Kṛṣṇa to Nanda's home (Fig. 147 and Pl. XXI) but also in the manner of showing water and the line of the drawings. Similarly, there is a striking likeness between the treatment of Kṛṣṇa killing Kaṁsa on this screen (Fig. 148) and the treatment of this subject in Raghunāth-Jī *kā mandir*, Bhurj (Pl. VIII). The *nāyikās* painted on this screen (Fig. 149) resemble those painted in Ramnagar Palace (Fig. 106).

One of the important purposes of the wall paintings here was a decorative one. It is clear that the comparative lack of furniture and sculpture in hill buildings left only a single avenue for decoration, and that was through the creation of attractive and colourful walls. Almost all the wall paintings consist of horizontal and vertical panels painted on the bare walls of temples and palaces. They are embedded in richly-coloured floral borders. The floral borders, emphasis on white, and the combination of colours used for the backgrounds, create a restful setting, and the painted panels have the appearance of framed pictures. Although ornamentation seems to have been an important purpose of this activity, it is of such high quality in most places that it appears rather that the rooms and walls were created to make viewing space for the beautiful paintings.

These paintings, in spite of the fact that they are essentially ritualistic and have a preponderance of religious themes, are not totally conventional and hieratic. There is a degree of freshness, vigour and a certain buoyancy of expression that is born out of the Pahāḍi ethos. The hills depicted in the paintings at Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu and in the Ramnagar Palace are an exact replica of the hills on the road leading from Jammu, via Udhampur, to Ramnagar. Even the solitary trees on hill tops painted in these two places can still be seen. Similarly, the smiling women found in all these wall paintings are like present-day Dogra women. The representation of trees tends on the whole to be conventional, as trees not found in the hills are also included (Fig. 78). Trees are often painted in an unnatural shape—the trunk with a cluster of leaves on the left side. More often clusters of flowers are attached to them although flowering trees are not common in this area. Similarly, the representation of rivers is also usually conventional, with little regard at times even for the gradient of water, as seen at Mule Chak (Pl. XXI). The conventional element is also present in the depiction of birds in the typical Pahāḍī manner, the sky full of stars and a cinematic moon, as seen in Sītā's *svayaṁvara* at Bhurj, and in Yaśodā bending to catch Balakṛṣṇa in Ramnagar Palace.

A factor which could have contributed towards the conventional nature of the paintings is their literary heritage. The most popular tales are from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgvata Purāṇa. Śaiva texts like the Śaiva Purāṇa and the Śaktī text of the Chandī Saptasatī and the Markandeya Purāṇa stories of Mahiṣamardinī Devī, are also illustrated. Along with these religious texts are painted the more romantic tales of the Gītā Govinda, Biharī's Sat Sai, Keśavdās's Rasikapriyā with its *nāyak-nāyikā-bheda*. It is now established that many of the *rājās* for whom the wall paintings were executed were familiar with these texts or had pandits who read them out. The patrons of course decided on the themes, but the artists have also shown their preference for these stories because of the human interest of their narratives and above all their emotional appeal. They have not adhered rigidly to the story but have chosen only the interesting themes. They also introduced unconventional elements like *bhairavīs* and *yoginīs* (Pl. XXV) as well as *satīs*. Similarly, the style shows acute awareness of mobility and vigour—a feature which always militates against a hieratic and conventional art.

Dogra wall paintings are thus basically religious in character but are not conventionally hieratic art.

They are influenced by folk and sophisticated forms, and the iconography is innovative. In the brief span of about eighty years, the art did not become stagnant but remained colourful throughout. It is uniqe, being essentially the product of artists who were inspired by acutely felt aesthetic ideals nurtured in magnificent surroundings. They have left us a legacy of hauntingly beautiful images.

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1. Chemical analysis conducted by the National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property, Lucknow.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Chitrasutra of the Vishnudharmottara*, Kanak Publications, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 163 and 195, stanzas 13–14. 'All the moods are to be depicted in the halls of audience of the king. Apart from the public halls of the palace and the temples, never and nowhere else can be painted inauspicious themes, and themes depicting battles, crematorium, exciting compassion, scenes portraying death, agony and anything despicable.'
3. Ibid., pp. 185–93.
4. Ibid., pp. 155 and 185, stanzas 4–5: '*Devas* [celestials] and *Gandharvas* do not wear a crown but should be adorned with groomed and well-dressed hair shooting up. Brahmanas are to be full of spiritual lustre and draped in white apparel.'
5. Ibid., pp. 158 and 188, stanzas 42–3: 'Traders are to be depicted with a turban wound round the head. Musicians and dancers and instrumentalists are to be presented in flamboyant dress.'
6. Ibid., pp. 150 and 179, stanzas 49–50: 'A wise artist should picture a feminine form in a stance resting on one foot that is steady in the *samapada* [feet together], the other foot at ease, the body in sportive charm and in a somewhat leaning or supporting attitude, sometimes in a rather quicker pace, maintaining a charm in gait and movement, sustaining a vision of the charm of contour of the hips.'
7. Ibid., pp. 157 and 187, stanzas 28–9: 'The retinue of princesses should be composed of hunchbacks, dwarfs, aged women and beautiful damsels with an old chamberlain.'
8. Ibid., pp. 141 and 172, stanzas 9–15.
9. 'The eye may be either bow-shaped (*chāpākara*), or fish-belly like (*matsyodara*), dark and charming like the blue lotus (*utpalapatrabha*), pinkish like the petal of the red lotus (*padmapatranibha*).'
10. 'And somewhat circular like the conch (*saṇkhakṛitī*), is the fifth. The bow-like eye is three *yavas* in measurement.'
12. 'The eye like the petal of the red lotus is nine *yavas* by its measure. The globular eye is to be understood as ten *yavas* in its proportion.'
13. The measurement of *yavas* is by that of each category. The bow-like eye is when the eyes are set down in yoga.
14. The fish-bellied type is to be used for portraying women in general and those lovelorn in particular. The blue lotus-petal eye is best for one who is not overcome by any emotion whatsoever.
15. The red lotus-petal type is for the frightened or weeping. The conch-like globular is for the one in anger or tormented by pain or anguish.

CHAPTER IV

HERITAGE AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The wall paintings in the Dogra hills are not an exotic and sudden growth peculiar to the western Himalaya; as we have already noted in Chapter III, they are the product of a long period of technical development. They are also the creation of the renaissance in mural painting which took place in several parts of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in different political and linguistic regions. There is a great deal of similarity in the style developed at the centres of wall painting all over the country during these centuries. They have all been influenced by paintings of other genres in the earlier periods.

It has already been noted that the existing miniature paintings of the Dogra region date from the period when this area came in contact with the Mughals. There are two possible explanations for this. First, that the Pahāḍī *rājās* on their visits to the Mughal courts at Lahore, Agra and Delhi came to know of the miniatures being painted, and wished to emulate their political suzerains as patrons of art. This desire might have been strengthened by the Mughal kings presenting them all with Mughal miniatures. Portraits of Dhruv Dev and Anant Dev of Jammu done by the Mughal artist Tek Chand exist in the Johnson Collection of the India Office Library,[1] and a painting of Rājā Basu, done at the time of Jahangir,[2] is in the Lahore Fort. These two instances indicate that the Pahāḍī *rājās* definitely came in contact with Mughal painting. The second possibility is that a long-established artistic tradition, particularly in mural painting, existed in this region, and that the easy availability of paper under Mughal rule prompted the painting of miniatures on a large scale. Both these suppositions are probably valid, for while no pre-Mughal paintings have as yet been found here, the style would suggest a previous acquaintance with painting, as well as a long gestation period of technique.

In any case, with the close contact of the Dogras with the Mughals, it was inevitable that Mughal art, which was an amalgam of Iranian and Indian traditions with inspiration from Central Asia, and which absorbed some European Renaissance influence later, should have a powerful impact on the subsequent course of Dogra painting.

Mughal painting was non-hieratic and secular. It was of course in the feudal order, dependent on court patronage, and hence aristocratic in character. It introduced for the first time professionalism, inasmuch as the artist's work was judged solely by his competence as an artist. Dogra painting was, however, born in an entirely different historical, cultural and geographical setting. Although, like Mughal painting, Pahāḍī painting was the product of aristocratic patronage, it is more intimate and lyrical in character. It was the product of deep religious fervour, and of the silence of valleys surrounded by snow-capped peaks, rather than of the imperial plains. People lived in these valleys with less formality, valued their folk heritage, and there was less difference between the rulers and the ruled than in the formal grandeur of the Mughal courts.

Once these cultural differences are understood, it becomes easier to analyse the interaction of the two styles of art. The distinctive mark of Mughal painting lay in its empathy with nature. This quality is noticed first of all in its treatment of landscape, where the artists tried to keep close to natural forms and shapes. The roots, trunks and branches of trees were closely observed and given their natural form, and colouring. The paintings of the Babarnāma (Figs. 150, 151) display this naturalism at its best; trees, hills, clouds, water, and the different planes of the ground are painted with great sensitivity to nature. The trees in the Dogra paintings at Bhurj (Fig. 17) and the Ramnagar Palace (Pl. XLVII) are also naturalistic. The depiction of water in a painting at Raghunāth Jī's *mandir*, Bhurj (Fig. 16) and in the Babarnāma (Fig. 150) again have stylistic similarities. On the whole, Mughal painting influenced Dogra Pahāḍī painting by softening the treatment of landscape, by creating a more relaxed atmosphere, and also in the adoption of Mughal and Persian details like the delicate shrubs and sprays inlaid on marble walls.

Similarly, the treatment of animals reveals the

innate sympathy the Mughals had for animal forms. Animal paintings loses some of the woodenness noticeable in earlier western Indian painting. Animals were depicted with greater movement and animation in Mughal painting, which influenced the tender and lifelike treatment of animals in the Dogra wall paintings.

The Mughals also introduced into the Indian painting tradition, the individualization of man. For the first time, man appears as the centre of the universe; around him the entire composition revolves; human beings are given a rounded form, volume and animation. Such a concept of man was to have far-reaching effects on Pahāḍī painting. The Dogras, like their brethren of Himachal Pradesh, adopted not only the sartorial styles of the Mughals, but there was also greater movement and volume in their figures. The flying angels wearing Muslim-style caps and riding winged animals, which frequently occur at Manesar and Sui Simbli, also appear to have been absorbed from the Mughal tradition.

Prior to the Mughals, mythological and religious figures like the incarnations of gods, *devatās*, Buddha, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, as well as powerful kings, were iconographically represented in more or less set formulae. They are identifiable on account of their larger proportions, brighter colours, and the iconographic symbols associated with them. The credit for portraiture goes largely to the Mughals, who, with their eye for detail, meticulously recorded the faces of the important political figures of the time, as documentary material for state ends. The Pahāḍī as well as Rajasthani schools of painting were definitely influenced by Mughal portrait painting. Several Pahāḍī kings, the most notable among them being Balwant Singh, have been faithfully portrayed. Portraits of the three Dogra brothers exist in miniature form, as well as in the wall paintings. A portrait of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh has been painted in Raghunāth-Jī's temple, Jammu, while portraits of Mahārājā Gulab Singh and Rājā Suchet Singh are to be found in the Ramnagar Palace.

The Dogra artists at Basholi and Jammu also seem to have imbibed from Mughal art the technique of multiple perspective, and the concept of grandeur in regard to architecture. In its depiction of architecture, Mughal painting harked back to Ajanta and brought the third dimension into importance once again.

The Mughal technique of introducing a number of planes into a single composition had a considerable influence on Dogra painting. Trees and hills or architectural features were the means by which depth as well as a dramatic note was created. Many Mughal compositions were also isometric in nature. All these devices were absorbed into Pahāḍī painting as well as into the painting in the Dogra hills. They are clearly noticeable in illustrations of Sītā's *svayamvara* at Bhurj (Pl. IV) and in Kṛṣṇa's wedding at Ramnagar (Pl. XLII).

As far as the actual technique of painting is concerned, Mughal painting influenced Dogra painting both in drawing and colouring. The seventeenth-century Dogra miniatures and subsequent wall paintings done in this area show a more rounded line in the drawing of human figures compared to the angularity of the western Indian drawing tradition. It seems that the line got smoothened out to a great extent as a result of the Pahāḍī artists coming into contact with Mughal painters.

We have noted the Mughal influence on line; in colour, the Mughal palette was richer and subtler in its blending of shades, and had a powerful impact on the use of colour in the Pahāḍī school of painting.

The influence of Rajasthani painting, which is almost contemporaneous with Mughal painting, also seems to have affected Dogra miniature and wall painting. The Pahāḍī *rājās* of Jammu do not appear to have had extensive relations with the Rajasthani *rājās*, though they are believed to have come originally from the plains. It is also known that Rājās Man Singh and Jai Singh of Amber[3] and Rājā Madho Singh of Kotah[4] (A.D. 1595–1647) invaded the hill states as leaders of the Mughal forces. The hill *rājās* often visited the sacred places of Vaiṣṇava and Rāmānanda *sampradāya* in Rajasthan. Similarly, the *rājās* of Rajasthan, specially Mahārājā Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, are known to have visited the famous Jwala-mukhi shrine in Kangra[5] and the Śiva temple at Purmandal.[6]

Some artists from Jodhpur who are believed to have painted on walls were employed by the rich *maṭhas* of Amritsar during Sikh rule.[7] According to the present *mahanta* of Rām-jī-kā *mandir*, Jammu, the artist who painted the walls of this temple came from Jaipur.[8] It is possible that, as in the twentieth century, there was inter-marriage between the Rajputs of the plains and those of the hills, but this cannot be proved by documentary evidence. It does not however seem unlikely in view of the similarities of caste and culture, including the basic one of religion, that the Dogra and Pahāḍī *rājās* came in contact with the Rajput *rājās* of Rajasthan, perhaps during their visits to the Mughal *darbārs*. All these points of contact suggest that a cross-fertilization of artistic ideas could have

taken place on any of these points between the Pahāḍī and Rajasthani schools of painting.

Rajasthan witnessed a great renaissance in the art of wall painting in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the Dogra hills, the wall paintings were done mostly in the nineteenth century. The Rajasthani tradition of both miniature and wall paintings is earlier than anything still existing in the western Himalaya. Rajasthani painting, moreover, appears to have inherited directly from the tradition of western Indian Jain painting, unlike Pahāḍī painting. Nineteenth-century Rajasthan witnessed a period of decline in the political ascendancy of the Rajput *mahārājās* over the Mughal throne. Most of the country was in political chaos. Rajasthan itself was subject to repeated depredations by the Marathas and the Pindaris, often at the invitation of petty-minded and envious *mahārājās* incessantly plotting against one another. From the second quarter of the nineteenth century, however, all the conniving and intriguing was left to the British. The *mahārājās* settled down to drinking, opium dreams, watching *nautch*, and, what is more important for the development of art, staying at home. The walls of old palaces and the *havelis* of the *nouveau riches* erupted with beautiful wall paintings so that the princes in their palaces and the *seths* in their *havelis* could relax in decorated surroundings, shutting out the desert sands outside. The fort at Bikaner, the Takht Vilas (Figure 152) and the Phool Mahal in Jodhpur Fort, as well as innumerable Vaiṣṇava and Jain temples and *havelis* all over Rajasthan, but especially Shekhawati, abound with all paintings.

The colour schemes of paintings are very much a product of the topography and local ethnic culture. Hence, there are bound to be variations between the colours used in the lush green mountainous regions of the Dogra hills and a terrain marked predominantly with shades of brown like that of Rajasthan. The colour schemes in Rajasthan are more vivid and vibrant. They concentrate on bright red, yellow, gold, blue and purple. There are also differences between the colour schemes employed in palaces like the Bikaner Fort and the Phool Mahal of Jodhpur Fort, and the colours employed in wall paintings in the *havelis* of aristocrats or leaders of the trading community. The palette of the Dogra artists is however uniformly rich.

The western Himalaya, of which the states of Jammu, Basholi, Bhoti, Bhadrawah, Bhandralta and Punch are a part, were culturally and politically homogeneous as we have already seen in the first chapter. It has also been noted that according to Grierson, the Pahāḍī language in various dialect forms was spoken in the entire region. Dogrī is akin to the Pahāḍī dialect spoken in Kangra district. There were matrimonial alliances between the Dogra states and the hill states which now fall in Himachal Pradesh, particularly between Chamba and Jammu. Ranjit Dev of Jammu's sister was the queen of Umaid Singh, the Rājā of Chamba, which thus made him also the uncle of Raj Singh of Chamba. Jit Singh of Chamba was married to a Jammu princess.

A large number of Pahādī *rājās* of the western Himalaya were patrons of painting and took a personal interest in it. In the Dogra states, however, we do not have any patron of wall painting of the standing of Rājā Sansār Chand of Kangra (A.D. 1774–1823). Sansār Chand was very knowledgeable about painting, and seems to have guided his atelier of painters in person, not only in the selection of particular themes but also in style. Of the Jammu *rājās*, Rājā Balwant Singh (A.D. 1724–63), the youngest son of Ranjit Dev, appears to have personally motivated the painting of miniatures and may have even been a patron of wall paintings in the palace he built for himself at Saruin. Although Mahārājās Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh all took an interest in wall painting, the two older brothers seem to have patronized wall paintings as a part of temple construction. The case of Suchet Singh seems to be different, and from the paintings executed in his palace at Ramnagar, he emerges as a great aesthete who may have chosen the subjects himself. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh and his Rānī Bhandrali were, as already seen in Chapter II, interested in the patronage of painting for its own sake. In Basholi, Rājā Amrit Pal (A.D. 1757–76) emerges not only as a great patron but also as a connoisseur of considerable taste and knowledge.

From the evidence available, it is interesting to note that schools of miniature and wall paintings came into existence in both these regions of the western Himalaya almost simultaneously. The tradition of wall painting was roughly contemporary but most of the existing Dogra wall paintings were done after 1820, whereas in Himachal Pradesh the wall paintings found in the Thākurdvārā of Nurpur, in the Gaurisankar and Narmadesvar temples of Sujanpur Tira and on the walls of the Sultanpur palace at Kulu, are older, belonging to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A number of contemporary centres however existed in Himachal Pradesh, including a *maṭha* at Dharamsal and an old palace at

Dada Sība, painted at the end of the nineteenth century, the Rang Mahal at Chamba (mid-eighteenth century) and the first floor paintings done in the *maṭha* at Damtal.[9]

This contemporaneity naturally influenced the styles of painting for three main reasons. The first important factor influencing the art of both these areas was their almost simultaneous contact with the Mughals, beginning in Akbar's reign and continuing up to the later Mughals. The absorption of Mughal influence also appears to have been simultaneous. The migration of artist families may have promoted to a limited extent kinship of styles[10] (Fig. 154).

All over the western Himalaya the depiction of religious stories is predominant. Most of the Dogra *rājās* claim to be *surajvamsis* with Rāma as their *iśta devatā* whereas most of the *rājās* of Himachal Pradesh were *chandravaṁsis*. In the Dogra wall paintings, tales from the Rāmāyaṇa therefore predominate whereas in Himachal Pradesh themes from the *kṛṣṇa-līlā* find greater favour. Secular themes are rarely illustrated in either place, while secular events usually form a part of the panels illustrating religious themes. On the whole it would also be correct to say that romantic paintings with a special emphasis on *nāyak-nāyikā-bheda* and *Rāgmāla* are more popular in Himachal than in the Dogra states. The influence of Buddhist and *tāntrik* art as seen in the drawing of *mandalas* and panels painted within geometric designs, as in the Sultanpur Devī mural at Kulu in Himachal (Fig. 125) is not as evident in the Dogra wall paintings. The tradition of narrative themes, on the other hand, is stronger.

The wall paintings of the entire western Himalayan region including Durgarā Pradesh are essentially decorative in character, each panel separated from the other by ornamental borders and floral motifs, and with horizontal and vertical subdivisions. The preparation of walls before they were painted was almost similar at both the places. There is no evidence to indicate the use of *khākās* in Jammu, although it is likely that *khākās* were used in the Dogra wall paintings, specially in the Raghunāth Jī temple at Sui Simbli.

The treatment of space, balance, light and movement appears to be equally competent in both areas. The wall paintings in the Dogra *qalam* are on the whole larger; the big panels existing both at Raghunāth Jī's *mandir* and at Sui Simbli are much larger than any in Himachal Pradesh.

There were a number of *qalams* both in miniature and in wall painting all over the western Himalaya. Although there are great similarities between the wall painting tradition in the Dogra hills and in the rest of the western Himalaya, the Dogra paintings have a distinctive character. This appears in the drawing, in the method of composition, and in the colours used. The figures have become more human, in the sense that they are not the idealized figures, with elongated shapes, seen only in profile, found in most of the centres located in Himachal Pradesh. The backgrounds are more simplified and the isometric method of composition has been adopted to a much greater effect in the Dogra states than in the remaining states of Himachal Pradesh. In colouring also, there is greater use of pastel and earth colours, and also of indigo in the Dogra area. Gold has been employed with greater effect and more frequently. Another difference is the greater use of Sikh iconographic idioms like beards, the royal umbrella held over royal personages, the dress, furniture, depiction of fighting scenes, and the halo above royal heads in Dogra wall paintings, compared to Himachal Pradesh where Sikh idioms can be noticed only at the *mahānta's baithak* at Dharamsal *maṭha* (Fig. 155) and in the first floor room of the *maṭha* in Damtal. Similarly, western influence is more in evidence in Jammu than in Himachal Pradesh. The use of western dress, European army formations and even the inclusion of prints of English country girls in a panorama of purely Pahāḍī wall paintings is seen here (Fig. 105). In Himachal, at the Arki, Damtal and Dharamsal *maṭhas* such influence is also evident specially in the dress styles, the European buggy, and army formations.

There was bound to be interaction between the Sikhs and the Dogras as the political fortunes of the latter were so closely intertwined with the former. It is an arguable point whether an independent school of Sikh painting exists. A pioneering study on the subject made by Archer[11] considers this a separate and distinct genre of Indian painting. Archer based his conclusions almost entirely on the fact of Sikh patronage of painting and the depiction of certain items like beards, turbans, daggers, items of clothing, halos around the heads of royal figures, royal umbrellas and the introduction of chairs.

What is generally called Sikh painting is a gauche variant of Pahāḍī painting rather than an evolution of new aesthetic norms and forms. This 'school' of painting can be termed a later phase of Pahāḍī painting, developing under Sikh patronage.

Patronage of art throughout the ages has generally depended upon political power. With the decline of

Mahārājā Sansar Chand of Kangra, and Mahārājā Ranjit Singh extending his suzerainty over the Kangra hill states, it was but natural for Pahāḍī artists to look for patronage to the new paramount power. It was also to be expected that Mahārājā Ranjit Singh would have improved his image by becoming a patron of art. At least four Pahāḍī painters are known to have migrated from the hills to the court of Ranjit Singh, namely Purkhu, Chajju, Sajnu and Devi Ditta.[12] Chajju was Nainsukh's grandson, and Devi Ditta his great-grandson through his son Ranjha. Besides Pahāḍī artists, the names of two other artists, Kehar Singh and Muhammad Bakhsh,[13] are also known. These artists painted visiting dignitaries and recorded important events such as Ranjit Singh's meeting with Lord Auckland, the Governor-General.[14] He presented a painting of himself to Lord Auckland.[15] What is important for contemporary wall painting is the fact that Ranjit Singh conscientiously patronized this form of painting. In the Lahore Fort he had murals painted in the gateways and in the Shishmahal.[16] His house at Wazirabad was extensively painted.[17] Ranjit Singh had a special house built in Amritsar for entertaining his foreign guests, which also contained wall paintings.[18]

The only painted panel with human figures, namely an equestrian portrait of Guru Gobind Singh with his followers, painted at Harmaṇdir Sahib at Amritsar, was commissioned by Ranjit Singh.[19] Wall paintings were also executed at Gurudwāra Than Sahib at Kartarpur in District Jullundur,[20] and Śivālaya Ek-Oṅkar in Karnal.[21]

Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's successors were also patrons of painting. The *haveli* of Naunihal Singh, his grandson, at Lahore was embellished with frescoes.[22] His son Mahārājā Sher Singh was even more interested in the art of painting than his father. His interest in this may have been aroused in Kangra where he was posted as Governor at a very early age.[23] He was evidently a great Anglophil. Osborne, Lord Auckland's nephew and A.D.C., visited Panjab in 1838 and drew his portrait.[24] Sher Singh was also a patron of August Theodor Schoefft, the Hungarian painter who visited Lahore in 1838.[25] He popularized large-sized paintings and introduced oils, and was interested in Pahāḍī art. Pahāḍī artists have painted several portraits of him and it is known that he patronized a famous Pahāḍī painter by the name of Gokal.[26] His *samādhī* at Lahore and his house are known to have contained wall paintings.

Besides the Sikh royal house, the leading *sardārs* of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's court were also patrons of painting. The house of Hari Singh Nalwa at Gujranwala was embellished with wall paintings,[27] and the Sandhawalia *sardārs* had a number of Pahāḍī artists working for them.[28] The French Generals Aventura and Allard, and the Italian Avitabile, similarly had their houses decorated with wall paintings.[29] This tradition of royal and aristocratic patronage was continued in the Sikh state of Patiala as evidenced by the Moti Mahal paintings in Patiala.

Buildings constructed by the common people were popularly painted in Panjab. In Batala, for example, the Bhandari family had murals painted in the Śiva temple at Achal in Batala and also in the Bhalla *mandir* there.[30] The religious *maṭhas* were also prominent in patronizing artistic activity.

The main centres of Sikh wall painting were Lahore and Amritsar. In Amritsar, the greatest patrons of this art were the *maṭhas* of the *Udāssī sanyāsins* known as *akhāḍās*. The *Akhāḍā* Sangalwala built by *Mahānta* Pritam Dās in 1868, the *Akhāḍā* Balanand in 1775, the *samādhī* of *Mahānta* Bishambar Nath in 1888, the *Akhāḍā* Mangiram Kashiwala in 1795 and the *Akhāḍā* Dariyanamal built in 1875, all had murals on their walls. In other parts of Panjab, a few *maṭhas* like the *Thākurdvārā* of Rantatwali and the Pindori *mahāntan* at Gurdaspur were decorated with wall paintings.

These murals appear on stylistic grounds to be mid- and late nineteenth-century creations, and therefore roughly contemporaneous with Dogra wall paintings. There does not however appear to have been much interaction.

There is a world of difference in the aesthetic concepts underlying these paintings, although many of the wall paintings in both regions were commissioned by religious *maṭhas* and the trading community. But whereas patrons in the hills could meditate on the beauty of the scenery surrounding them, in Amritsar patrons had only a superficial interest in art; they were interested in making quick and easy money in what soon came to be the commercial capital of the Panjab. Wall paintings in Amritsar are by and large rigid, hieratic and garish, seeming to have been done by *mistrīs* as a purely routine decoration of bare walls. They appear as frozen figures in masonry, and are far removed from the living, bright, moving figures of the Dogra wall paintings. Even the floral borders are rigid and colourless whereas the borders in Raghunāth Jī's temple, Jammu, for example, are painted in beautiful smooth colours with flowers appearing like jewels.

In the rest of the Panjab, except for the paintings of Raghunāth Jī's temple at Pindori *Mahāntan* in Gur-

daspur district which are in the Guler style, most of the other centres like the *Thākurdvārā* of *Vairāgis* at Rantatwali in Hoshiarpur and the Shish Mahal paintings of the Moti Mahal, Patiala, are definitely of inferior quality. The drawing in most of these centres including Amritsar—the portrait of Śrī Chand at *Akhāḍa* Balanand, Amritsar (Fig. 156), and Śiva and Pārvatī (Fig. 157)—is also thick and rigid even in illustrations of a scene with great action like Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa chasing the golden deer, painted at Rantatwali (Fig. 158), or in the illustration of Guru Nanak discussing spiritual matters (Fig. 159), where the composition lacks expression. The figures look like dolls with their eyes popping out, and the painting lacks spiritual qualities of any kind. Very bright colours were used; there was a frequent use of garish purple and blue. The palette of the Dogra school is superbly sophisticated in comparison.

A few traces of the influence of western painting can also be seen in Dogra painting. Western painting must have influenced painting at the Sikh courts as a number of European visitors to the court of Ranjit Singh and his successors may have brought copies of European prints, and European artists found a patron in Mahārājā Sher Singh. There are three possible channels by which western influences reached the Dogra painters. The first and most probable source is Mughal; the second the Sikh; and finally, direct contact of the Dogra *rājās* with western artists and patrons. We have noted earlier that Mahārājā Gulab Singh, as a truly cultured man, was greatly curious about everything foreign and different. Gulab Singh was on friendly terms with Sir Henry Lawrence and visited the Governor-General's court after the Amritsar treaty;[31] in 1850, Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence went to Kashmir and were entertained by Gulab Singh.[32] Other European visitors had been in large numbers to Kashmir as early as 1847.[33] Ranbir Singh, Gulab Singh's son, also seems to have been fond of entertaining Europeans, and invited Frederic Drew to undertake a geological survey of the state. Drew states that several Englishmen visited Kashmir and availed of the Mahārājā's hospitality.[34]

The most distinct evidence of western influence on Dogra wall painting is found at Ramnagar. It appears either that Rājā Suchet Singh, its patron, had come in contact with western painting while living at Ranjit Singh's court at Lahore, or that he may have bought prints of English paintings on his visits to the British dominions in India. In the Ramnagar Palace several panels employ the western chiaroscuro effect and aerial perspective. Angels hover in the sky (Pl. LXI), Indian soldiers wear British style uniforms (Fig. 104), and are shown in British army formations. Western furniture makes an appearance. The prints of English country girls inserted into traditional painted panels have already been discussed (Fig. 105).

It is increasingly clear that the entire Himalayan region from Nepal to Ladakh had wide cultural affinities. There was a great deal of contact between Nepal and the western Himalaya during the period of Buddhist cultural ascendancy beginning from Aśoka's time,[35] and there was much migration from India into Nepal. It was common for Buddhist monks to travel from Kashmir to the Buddha's birthplace in Nepal and for monks in India and Nepal to visit remote regions in Kashmir and Ladakh. Taranath in his *History of Buddhism* mentions that several monks from Kashmir travelled all over India and vice versa;[36] also that in Nepal the old western Indian style of painting which was also followed in Kashmir, continued till Hasuraja introduced a new technique.[37] These contacts continued during the period of Brahmin ascendancy, and into the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries too. The ancestors of the Shahs who conquered Nepal in A.D. 1769 are said to have come from the Indian plains[38] and may have had matrimonial relations with the *rājās* of the plains. It was because of Sansar Chand of Kangra's rapid conquest of various hill states that the hill *rājās* of Himachal Pradesh combined against him and invited Amar Singh Thappa, a Gurkha general, to invade Kangra in 1805. It was an amazing feat to have led an army from Nepal, through the central Himalaya, to Kangra. It is worth noting that that was also the period when the best Pahāḍī miniatures were being produced in Sansar Chand's ateliers, and the invaders may have seen them.

Nepalese painting found expression in scrolls, miniatures and wall paintings. Most Nepalese paintings depict tales from the life of the Buddha and other themes from the Jātakās. Illustrations of Mahakāla, *tāntra* symbols and *mandalas* are other popular subjects. Hindu paintings contain illustrations of the Rāmāyāṇa, the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu Dharam Purāṇa, and the Devī Mahāmāyā. The greatest patronage has come from monasteries, followed by traders, feudal lords, and kings, in that order, in Nepal. A number of similarities exist with western Himalayan painting. To begin with the scrolls: two interesting Nepalese scrolls painted on cloth at present in the National Museum, New Delhi, show many general resemblances with Basholi miniatures and Dogra wall paintings.[39] First, the line is simple and powerful.

The colours used are predominantly the same shades of red, green and yellow as are found in the paintings of the entire western Himalayan region. In compositions, there is a tendency to place the deities in niches, even in scrolls (Fig. 160), a common feature in Dogra miniature as well as wall painting. The style of turbans worn by the men, the women's coiffures, and the dress of both men and women is typically Pahāḍī (Fig. 161). Hills are often shown in serrated form as in one of the scrolls referred to above. Durries of the kind found in Pahāḍī miniatures are painted in this scroll, while ornamental trees with cranes seated on them are also common to both schools. The trees in the early paintings (Fig. 162) greatly resemble those of this scroll. Red backgrounds as well as the wide open eyes of the human figures are other features in common. The likeness between the architecture depicted in these scrolls and Basholi architecture is remarkable. In both places tiered roofs are shown in the typical manner of Pahāḍī temples found all over the western Himalaya. In the Scrona Kotikarna scroll of the National Museum, painted in A.D. 1721[40] (Fig. 162), similarities in the architecture, trees, style of having compositions within niches, and head-dresses, can be seen. The colours, however, are not as subtle and muted as those employed by Pahāḍī artists.

A later eighteenth-century scroll and a mid nineteenth-century painting from Nepal, the former depicting the tale of Banasura and the latter an illustration from the Bhāgvata Purāna, both have stylistic similarities with the details of vegetation and the architecture in Kangra and Dogra wall paintings.[41]

A Nepalese scroll illustrating the story of the Kotikarna Avadhana which was painted in the first decade of the eighteenth century also shows great similarities with Pahāḍī painting. When this scroll was first studied it was found that there were the same facial types and *padol*-shaped eyes here as in contemporary Rajput and Pahāḍī painting, as well as in Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal.[42] If the Kotikarna Avadhana is carefully examined, its stylized trees in pale brown and chocolate, the flowering sprays, hills, and water courses, are reminiscent of early Rajasthani, western Indian and the Basholi traditions. The slender knotted trunks remind us of similar tree trunks in fifteenth-century western Indian miniatures. The elongated faces and depiction of *mudras* of the hands is peculiarly Nepalese. The treatment of hills by piled-up serrated rocks arranged in rough triangles reminds us of the western Indian tradition though a similar treatment of hills in early Nepalese paintings is also found. The Sudhanya Kumara scroll of Nepal reveals a similar human physiognomy, dress, colour and line to that in the Dogra wall paintings.[43]

Dr Moti Chandra feels that as a result of the wars of Aurangzeb and the consequent displacement and insecurity of the Hindu kingdoms of Rajputana, a number of artists must have been thrown out of employment and there is every possibility that some of them reached Nepal by the end of the seventeenth century. The names of such artists have not been discovered as yet.

A number of wall paintings were also painted in Nepal in different centres. The murals of Bhupatindra Malla at Bhaktapura, the Kumari temple and Hanumandhoka palace at Kathmandu and the Taleju Bhawani temple at Bhatgaon have strong resemblances to the wall paintings of the western Himalaya (Fig. 163): most of these wall paintings are small in size and have a similar preponderance in the use of round and angular lines and protruding eyes, as well as in colour. The mid-nineteenth century paintings done in the Hanumandhoka palace, Kathmandu, depict human figures almost of the same type, with similarities in the shape of trees, iconography and grouping of figures. The landscape has Tibetan overtones specially in the shape of hills, rock formations, clouds, and divisions of paintings into compartments on the same wall; a penchant for gaudy colours, dragons and flying scarves. There is also a certain rigidity in these unilinear compositions which makes them look like scrolls transferred on to walls, that we do not find in Dogra wall paintings.

Despite such similarities, the Nepali artists had evolved a style of their own, one with greater linearity than the Pahāḍī *qalams*, explained perhaps by the direct impact of Pāla painting on Nepali art. The important idioms and characteristics of Pāla art became conventionalized and continued subsequently. Nepalese painting also has many links with Tibetan painting, as seen in the snow-capped conical hills, the cloud formations, and in a sense the theatrical scheme of composition. Dogra painting is more naturalistic, has greater movement, and its human figures are more expressive than the mask-like expressions worn by human figures in most Nepali paintings.

We know from Taranath that a Kashmiri school of painting existed in the sixteenth century, though there is evidence of Kashmiri painting[44] even earlier. It is quite possible that the early Buddhist monaster-

ıes and temples as well as palaces' in Kashmir contained wall paintings. Lalitaditya, the powerful ruler of Kashmir, seems to have brought back from Kannauj specimens of Buddhist painting and sculpture, *objets d'art,* and craftsmen not only from Persia, but also from western Central Asia.[45] The Central Asian and Kashmiri styles of wall painting seem to have come into contact with each other through the great trade routes from Persia to Central Asia, China and India. In the wall paintings of Qīzīl in Central Asia, Kashmiri influence is discernible in its linearity, and in the characteristically Indian stance adopted by a female figure in the temple friezes of Harwan in Kashmir.[46] It also seems probable that a Kashmiri style of painting existed contemporaneously with Pāla painting, as testified by the Prajanaparamita miniatures (Fig. 164) attributed by Tucci to the Kashmiri school.[47] Tucci thinks that Rin c'en bzan po, a Tibetan who visited India in the tenth century, took back with him seventy-five Kashmiri masters to propagate Buddhism through artistic creations.[48]

During the period of Muslim rule, Persian influence was absorbed by Kashmir and its artists, generally known as *kāmgārs*, specialized in floral designs both in wall paintings, and in wood carvings in mosques, as well as on *papier mâché* articles. Even the old palace built in Mubarak Mandi, Jammu, by Mahārājā Gulab Singh, which has floral decorations, is believed to have been painted by Kashmiri *kāmgārs* specializing in floral designs.

It appears that a tradition of miniature painting existed simultaneously in Durgarā Pradesh and Kashmir after the fall of the Mughal empire. A set of eleven Kashmiri miniatures in the National Museum[49] has great similarities with Dogra wall painting. Among them is a miniature depicting Vāsudeva taking the newly-born Kṛṣṇa from Devakī's room to Yaśodā's palace (Fig. 165). Here the treatment of the river, the architectural compartments, the hills, and a tiger, resemble the treatment of this theme on the walls of the Raghunāth Jī's temple at Mule Chak (Pl. XXI). A depiction of Viṣṇu in his *Mohinī rūp* distributing nectar to the *devatās* (Pl. XVIII) also illustrates such similarities.

Almost all these miniatures are enclosed in black borders with a design of white flowers which resemble the floral borders of the paintings in the Raghunāth Jī temple, Jammu. The treatment of clouds, trees and to a certain extent, cows, is similar, but the horses and elephants are wooden figures compared to those of the Dogra school (Fig. 166). It is also significant that the human figures in the earlier period of Dogra wall painting have greater animation and movement than the short and squat figures found in this set of Kashmiri miniatures (Fig. 167). The similarities between painting in Jammu and Kashmir is to be expected in view of their geographical proximity, and the fact that under the Dogras the two areas formed a political unit.

There is every possibility of a great deal of interaction taking place between the art of Jammu and Kashmir and that of Ladakh. Historically, the areas have been linked from the earliest times and after the Buddha there must have been a constant exchange of spiritual and cultural ideas between the great Buddhist monasteries of Kashmir and Ladakh. Some Buddhist monks from Kashmir may have found refuge in Ladakh. Although in Kashmir itself the Buddhist legacy was almost entirely destroyed by the Muslims, it survived in Ladakh, Nepal and eastern India, which maintained the Buddhist iconographic tradition. Even after Kashmir was conquered by the Muslims it was in close contact with Ladakh. The Kashmiri style of miniature painting with its Persian and later Mughal elements was carried to Ladakh as well.

Ladakh has an ancient tradition of wall paintings in Buddhist monasteries. Only the Buddhist Jataka stories are illustrated here. Pahāḍī wall paintings depict entirely non-Buddhist themes, yet there are a few similarities which point to the cultural contact between these places. The Dogras had conquered Ladakh in 1841 and may have seen some wall paintings during their occupation of Ladakh.

The most famous wall paintings in Ladakh are to be found in the Alchi monastery, believed to have been built in the eleventh century A.D. These paintings seem to have been influenced by two distinct styles of Indian painting. Guiseppe Tucci holds that the Prajanaparamita miniatures of Kashmir influenced Alchi painting in the techniques of drawing, colouring, the preference for erect postures; and the slight undulation of the body rather than the classical *tribhanga*. Details of dress and embroidery also show Kashmiri influence[50] (Fig. 164). Another scholar believes that although Nepalese influence, which he terms 'Tibeto-Nepalese', exists in Ladakhi painting, the fundamental connection was with north-west India and Kashmir.[51] An analysis of these paintings shows the influence of Pāla miniature painting which may have been brought to Ladakh by Buddhist monks travelling through Bengal and other Buddhist pilgrimage centres in eastern India. Pāla influence is seen in the thematic treatment of stories,

in the iconography of the Buddha image, in the plasticity of the line and in the manner of painting compositions in painted as opposed to actual niches in walls. Snellgrove states that the Alchi murals may be the work of Kashmiri craftsmen helped by Tibetan assistants. The painting of Manjusri found here has completely Indian iconographic models, for example, a *haṁsa* bird shown in the centre (Fig. 168). In another painting (Fig. 169), depicting a drinking party, the Persian influence on line is noticeable and it is probable that this was derived from Kashmiri painting which in its turn had imbibed it from the Mughal miniature tradition. Another painting at Alchi shows figures dressed as Indian *gurūs*.

There are certain resemblances between the wall paintings of Alchi and those of the rest of the western Himalaya. For example, paintings done within niches, floral borders, details of birds and a certain number of iconographic details are similar. This is seen by comparing a mural of Mahakala at Alchi (Fig. 170). On the other hand, the use of *mandalas* and geometric cubes, which is one of the main characteristics of Alchi wall painting, does not find any echo in Dogra wall painting although the Sultanpur Devī mural of Kulu has adopted this style. The plasticity of modelling at Alchi which is derived from Pāla art and the emphasis on deep maroon, blue and olive green so typical of Buddhist painting, is not apparent in Dogra wall painting. In later Ladakhi painting, for example in the Tashi Namgyal mural in the mGon-khang at Leh and a mural illustrating daily life at Sinhar, there is emphasis on the use of the colour brown, willow-like trees and myriads of small compositions in the same painting, which do not seem to have influenced Dogra painting.

For a fuller understanding of Dogra wall painting, it is important to analyse the relationship with a much larger body of miniatures produced in this area. While the miniature paintings available to us here are older than extant wall paintings, it is possible that the two forms existed simultaneously, although the evidence regarding wall paintings has vanished. This possibility is supported by Kahn Singh Kalauria who in his *Twarikh-i-Basholi* mentions that the palace of the Basholi *rājās* was painted over with erotic murals.

While miniature painting is known to exist from the seventeenth century onwards, and the extant wall paintings only date from the early nineteenth century, fundamental thematic as well as stylistic similarities exist between them. There are, however, some differences. In Dogra wall painting, for instance, single panels of soldiers and maid servants are commonly found in the temples of Miran Sahib, the Diwan-Jī *ka mandir*, Jammu, Mule Chak, Sui Simbli and Bhurj, as well as in the buildings at Ramnagar and Manesar, whereas such subjects are not popular in miniatures. Of course, illustrations of the common people such as cowherds, shepherds, maids, musicians, dancers, male retainers, *yogīs* and *yoginīs* as part of a larger courtly or religious group, are common both in wall and miniature painting. *Rāgas* and *rāginīs*, though they are found in wall paintings, are rarer than in miniatures. An interesting phenomenon is the comparative lack of illustrations of *mahārājās* in wall painting. Portraits of *rājās*, and compositions of them sitting in *darbār* listening to music, reviewing troops, out hunting or even merely attending to their toilet or supervising the construction of buildings, are common themes in miniatures. In the Dogra school, there are sets of paintings illustrating themes from the Gītā Govinda, Nala Damayanti, Rasika Priya and various narrative poems, giving a complete idea of the story, whereas such illustrations are rare in wall paintings. Most of the wall paintings only have a few narrative panels from the Rāmāyaṇa, the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* or Pauranic stories, with the exception of Raghunāth-Jī *mandir*, Jammu, which contains an almost entire depiction of the Rāmāyaṇa.

On stylistic grounds, there is a great similarity between miniature and wall painting. Most of the wall paintings, for example, at Raghunāth-Jī *mandir*, Jammu, at Bhurj or at Manesar, are set within borders; a style which is also prevalent in miniatures. Basholi borders generally have a red half-inch wide band all around, separated by one or two fine lines on a white background from the painting. This style has been followed in Bhurj and Sui Simbli. In Raghunāth-Jī's temple at Jammu, there are beautiful floral borders in maroon. Floral borders were common in Chamba miniatures and the style was later on adopted in Jammu miniatures as well.

It is also noticeable that the treatment of space, of balance, the structure of the composition, of light, proportion, perspective and the way buildings, hills and cows are depicted, is similar in both forms of painting.

The stylistic similarity requires to be probed in depth. Dr. B. N. Goswamy in his study of Pahāḍī artist families thinks that one of the important reasons for these similarities was the probability that some of the miniatures, as well as the wall paintings, were painted by artists belonging to the same family.[52] According to him a drawing in his collec-

tion (Fig. 154) illustrates this point. He has traced the development of the miniature style of painting in the family of Pandit Seu, beginning with the famous Gīta Govinda set painted, according to him, by Manaku in the Basholi style.[53] The Rāmāyaṇa paintings in the Chandigarh Museum, the Bhagavata Purāṇa collection of the National Museum, and the Coolidge collection in America are believed by him to be stylistically connected. He then traces the development of Nainsukh's style and believes that either he or his son Ranjha were responsible for the Nala-Damayanti paintings in the collection of Dr Karan Singh.[54] Any serious examination of these sets of paintings clearly reveals that there has been a gradual and steady development of style as far as drawing, colouring, compositional skills and, what is most important, the introduction of naturalism are concerned. Nainsukh was certainly a great master of his art and is responsible for some of the most beautiful paintings found in the Pahāḍī schools. His son Ranjha seems to have been an equally proficient artist from the evidence of the paintings attributed to him, specially the Rāmāyaṇa set of drawings in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

It is not necessary to compare eighteenth-century paintings with the Dogra wall paintings because of the hundred-year gap between them. It is, however, very instructive to compare our wall paintings with the Nala–Damayantī set painted in the early nineteenth century. The similarity between the style of our wall paintings and the depiction of landscape in the Nala–Damayantī set is most remarkable. We find trees with long slender trunks and a cluster of leaves at the top, ornamental trees with flowering branches, and short stumpy trees clipped so as to make their trunks almost invisible, both in the Dogra wall paintings and in the Nala–Damayantī set. The location of trees within the composition is also similar. They are mostly placed on the right in both the Nala-Damayantī set as well as in the wall paintings at Bhurj and Raghunāth Jī's *mandir*, Jammu (Fig. 171). There is a close parallel between a river in the Nala-Damayantī set (Fig. 172) and that in some of the wall paintings, for example, at Raghunath Jī's *mandir*, Jammu, where Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are shown crossing a river. The motif of big birds in the background used in the Nala–Damayantī set is also found in Raghunāth-Jī's *mandir*, Jammu (Fig. 173). The use of architectural details to give depth and perspective to a composition; the placing of box-like architectural compartments on the right of a composition; painting floral designs on the marble walls of palaces; all seem to have been derived from the Nala–Damayantī set by the Dogra wall painters. Even the design of palace walls, and their diagonal placing in compositions, is similar. Certain details of composition appear to be almost identical even though the wall paintings are of a much later period. An excellent example is of a chariot in both the Nala–Damayantī set (Fig. 174) and in a painting of Rāma leaving for exile in the forest, found in Raghunāth Jī's temple, Jammu (Fig. 76). In the Nala–Damayantī set, guards and occasionally some women are painted in doorways, as beholders, viewing the action taking place in the main composition in front (Fig. 174). This grouping is also seen in the Raghunāth Jī's temple at Bhurj in an illustration of Sītā's *svayaṁvara*, and in Purani Mandi *mandir*, Jammu, in a depiction of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā leaving exiled (Pl. IV and Fig. 76).

The resemblances are not limited only to the work of Nainsukh and Ranjha but continue into the next generation. Ranjha's son Gursahai seems to have worked in Basholi or Jammu. A set of Rāmāyaṇa paintings attributed to him which is in Dr Karan Singh's collection employs the same type of human figure as is seen in Raghunāth Jī's temple, Jammu (Fig. 175). Nikka's sons, Chhaju and Harkhu, who were employed in the Chamba court, also appear to have introduced into Dogra wall paintings the short squat bodies we find both in the miniatures painted by them at Chamba[55] and in wall paintings at Sui Simbli and Bhurj whose origin is unknown. The deep ochre yellow used both by Chhaju and Harkhu at Chamba and the delicate shading on female faces is found repeated in the wall paintings at Sui Simbli and Bhurj.

Chhaju's son Attra is believed to have painted a scene of hell (Fig. 176) with an inscription written in his own hand on the reverse.[56] The way in which Yama is shown sitting in a palace balcony on the left of the composition in Attra's miniature has an almost exact replica at Ramnagar (Fig. 97). Although the Ramnagar paintings must have been finished before 1841, the year in which Suchet Singh died, and the miniature by Attra was painted in 1880, it is possible that models of its composition existed in the family and were passed on to Attra.

The names of the artists of the Dogra wall paintings are not traceable as yet. It is however certain that they belonged to various families from different castes, religions and districts. It is probable that as most of these paintings were done under the patronage of the royal family of Jammu, the best

artists of the age were employed, and as the family of Pandit Seu was well known for its excellence in painting some members of this family may have also been commissioned for some of these paintings. It is also probable that artists from other families imitated their style of composition. However, no definite connection can be attributed between the stylistic similarities of development between these wall paintings and miniature paintings, and the spread of this family to various areas in this region. It was a Pahāḍī style developed over nearly two centuries before the wall paintings were executed.

Many other Jammu miniatures found in the National Museum collection in Delhi and in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, were examined for a comparative assessment of style. There is much similarity in landscaping, in the depiction of fire, in the treatment of rivers, trees, hills, cows and peacocks and in the type of floral borders painted around the miniatures. Such resemblances are well brought out in a miniature in the National Museum depicting Kṛṣṇa and his cowherd friends frolicking on the banks of the Yamuna (Fig. 177), and on a village *chaupal* (Fig. 178). Here the gradient of the river is similar to a river illustrated in Raghunāth Jī's *mandir*, Jammu. The trees, the cattle and the gentle undulating hills resemble those in the wall paintings. The Devī depicted in miniatures and in the Prem Das-ki-Samādhī at Sui Simbli is iconographically similar. The skyline of the Jammu miniatures is similar to that in a Ramnagar painting of Suchet Singh on horseback.

The style of composition is also largely alike, especially with regard to the use of subdivisions within a composition. In both these genres, figures have been grouped in sections marked out by walls or trees. A Jammu miniature of two lovers reunited reveals this resemblance (Fig. 179). Diagonals formed by buildings are also common in both kinds of painting as Figs. 125 and 180 show. Here the architectural pattern is very similar to the Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, and the Bhurj palace paintings of Sītā's *svayaṁvara*. The occasional Jammu miniature has a rather modern air. Aerial perspective is used alike in miniature and wall painting (Fig 180 and Pl. XL).

The line and colouring are also similar except that in the wall paintings stronger and darker colours are used than in the miniature paintings. This is because colours placed on wet plaster take on stonger hues than when applied onto paper. Shades like banana pink, grey and midnight blue are found in nineteenth-century miniatures but not in contemporaneous wall paintings.

It is a truism that all art forms are the end product of both old and contemporary influences, and the Dogra wall paintings are no exception to this. The Dogra wall painters were however brilliant enough to absorb and digest all the influences that came to their inheritance and they created a highly individual style, characterized by a relaxed informality where man and nature seem completely in harmony.

The folk element combined with a subtle sophistication makes the style one that is unique to Indian art. The high degree of technical skill shown by the artists in drawing, the subtle colour schemes devised by them, their ability to create tightly-knit compositions within a confined and limited area, and to create the effect of space, of light, perspective and movement, shows their superb mastery over their medium.

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GLOSSARY

Amṛt Nectar
Angavastra Male upper garment
Āśram Residence of a sage
Asthāna Seat
Asūra Demon
Avatāra Incarnation
Baiṭhak Drawing-room
Begār Free labour
Bhaṅga Hemp
Barāt Bridegroom's party
Bhairavī Female devotee of Śiva
Bahī Account book
Chitrehra Painter
Chīr-haraṇa Unclothing
Dīwān Prime Minister
Devatā God
Dāsī Female servant
Devī Goddess
Dharamsālās Rest houses
Dvārpālas Door keepers
Darbār Court, Audience given in the royal hall
Ektārā A single-stringed musical instrument
Faqīr A man who has renounced the world
Gandharvas Celestial musicians
Garbha gṛha Sanctum sanctorum
Govardhandharaṇa The lifting of mount Govardhan by Kṛṣṇa
Gāndiva Śiva's bow
Havelī Palatial house
Hamsa Swan
Huqqa Hubble bubble
Iṣta-devatā Personal god
Jāgīr Estate
Julaha Weaver
Kalam Pen
Kharavas Wooden sandals
Kutīr Cottage
Kāccha Male underwear
Kāliyā madh mardhana Destroying the pride of the snake king Kāliyā by Kṛṣṇa
Kasba Locality in a town or a small township
Lehnga Long skirt
Lohri A winter festival
Mahānta Head of a religious foundation
Mistrī Mason
Mohinī-rūp Attractive form
Mūdrā Gesture
Mandala Mystic circle used in tantrik meditation
Matka Earthen pitcher
Maṭha Religious foundation
Nāyikā Heroines
Nāyikā-bheda Differences between heroines
Nāga Snake
Naswāri Deep maron
Oḍānī Wimple worn over the skirt
Puthī Book
Padmāsana Lotus seated posture
Pāndā A sect of brahmins
Pūccā Firm
Parikramā Circumbulation round the inner sanctum
Panchami The festival of spring
Praḍakṣiṇa The square around the inner shrine
Ṛṣī Sage
Rākṣasa Devil
Rumāl handkerchief
Rītī-kāla The period of romantic poetry in Hindu literature
Rāsa-līlā Kṛṣṇa's dance with the *gopīs* in the moonlight during which Kṛṣṇa assumed as many forms as *gopīs*.
Satī Wife's immolation on husband's funeral pyre
Śṛṅgāra The poetics of erotics
Samādhī Burial place of a saint
Śikār Hunting
Stūtī Singing in praise of someone
Śāvarī Procession
Sannyāsin One who has renouned the world
Śampradāya Foundation
Svayamvara Self-selection of a bridegroom
Śikhara Top of temple
Samudramanṭhana Churning of the ocean
Sudarśana Chakra Viṣṇu's weapon
Śakti The consort of Śiva
Tośākhānā Treasure
Tarkhān Carpenter
Tirth-yātrā Pilgrimage
Tantra A philosophic and mystical concept.

Uṭaka nāyikā A heroine who is too eager to meet her lover
Vairāgi sampradāyas Foundations of ascetics
Vardhān Boon
Vaidya Doctor
Vairāgī Ascetic
Vāhana Mount
Virāt rūp Cosmic form
Vastṛaharaṇa Taking away clothes
Yajñya Religious sacrifice
Yamaloka Hell
Yogī (hī) One who is engaged in yogic practices
Zanānā (mahal) Female quarters

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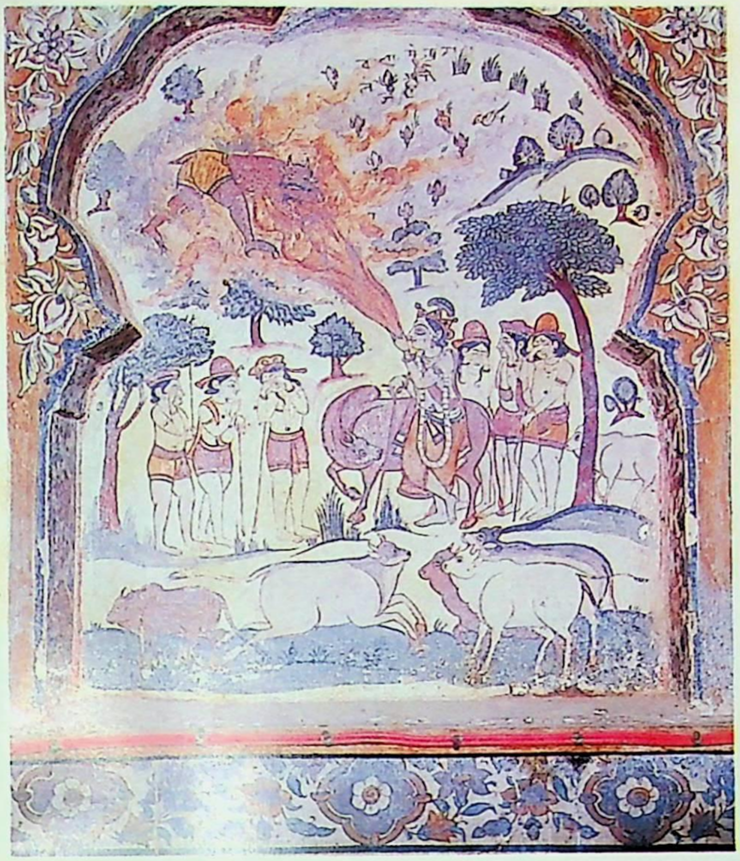


Plate I. Kṛṣṇa swallowing the village fire.
Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate II. Rājā Bharathari renouncing the world.
Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate III. Detail from Pl. II; Rājā Bharathari begging *bhikṣā* from his Rāṇī.
Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate IV. Sītā's *svayaṁvara*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate V. Rāma bending the Gandiva bow.
Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate VI. Princesses watching the ceremony. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

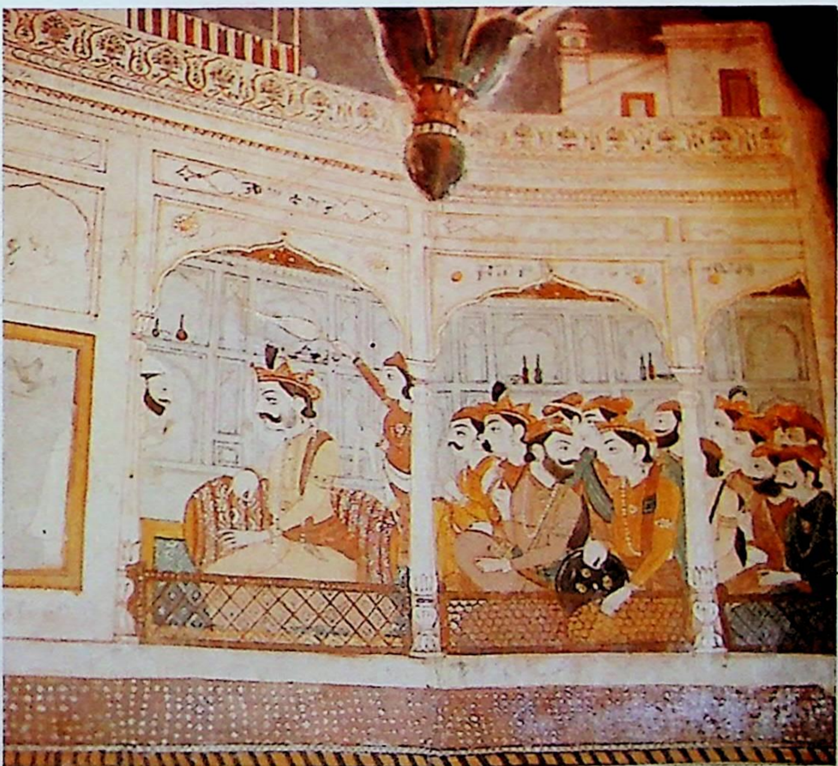


Plate VII. Detail from Pl. IV; *rājās* invited to the *svayaṁvara* on a balcony. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

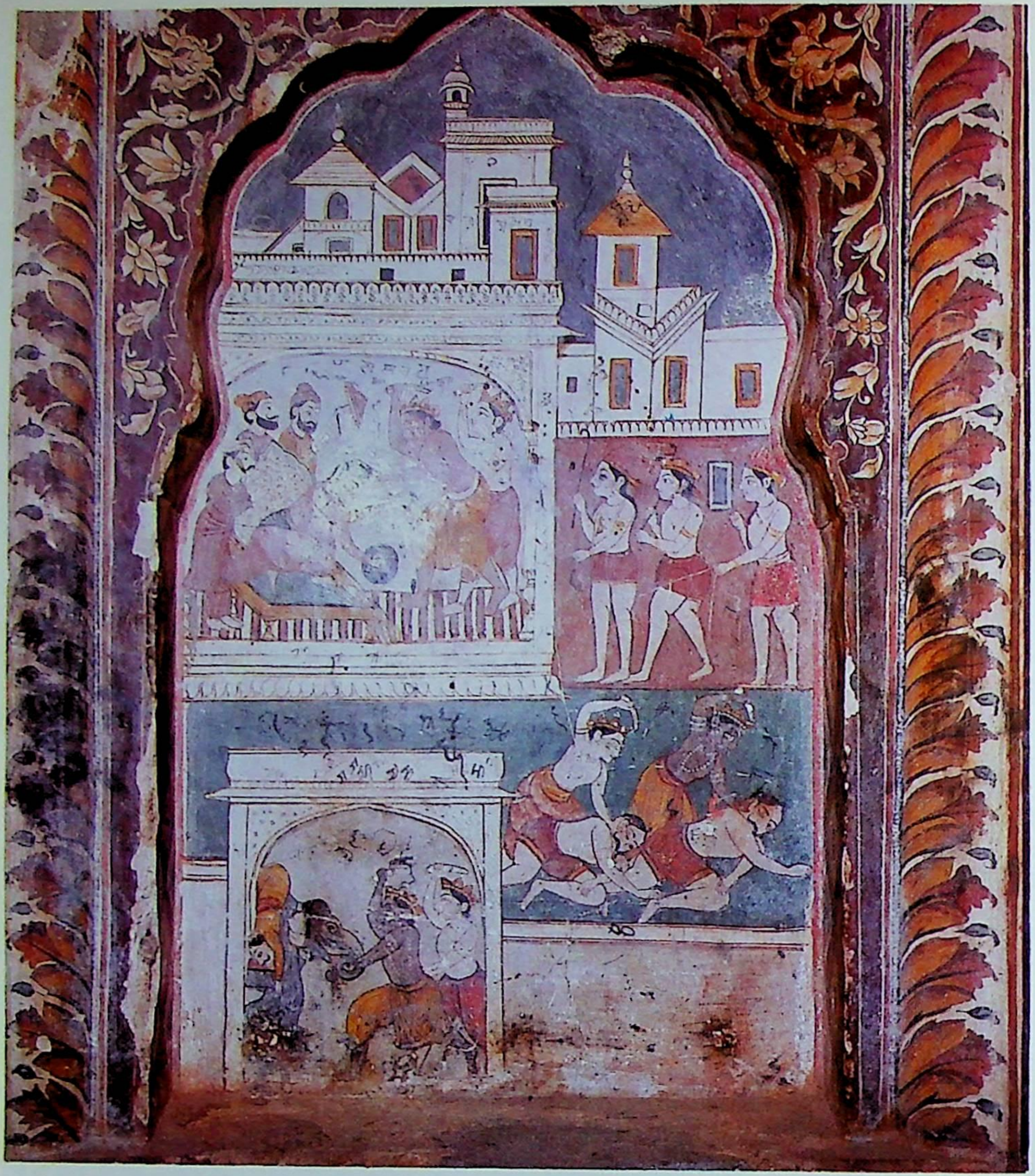


Plate VIII. Kṛṣṇa in Kaṁsa's *darbār*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Plate IX. Detail from Pl. VIII, Kṛṣṇa killing Kaṁsa. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

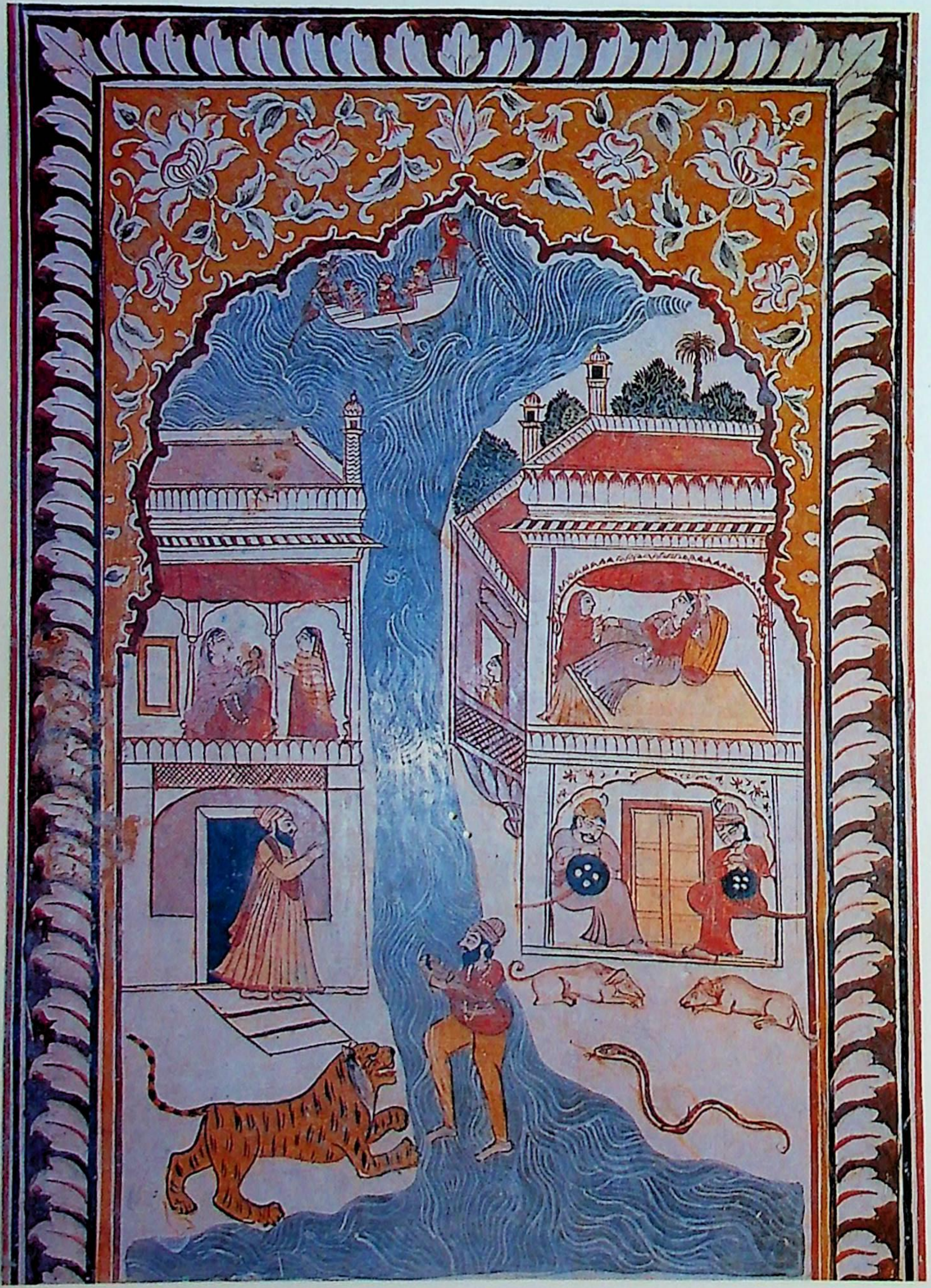


Plate X. Vasudeva bringing the newly born Kṛṣṇa to Yaśodā's house in Vrindavana. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

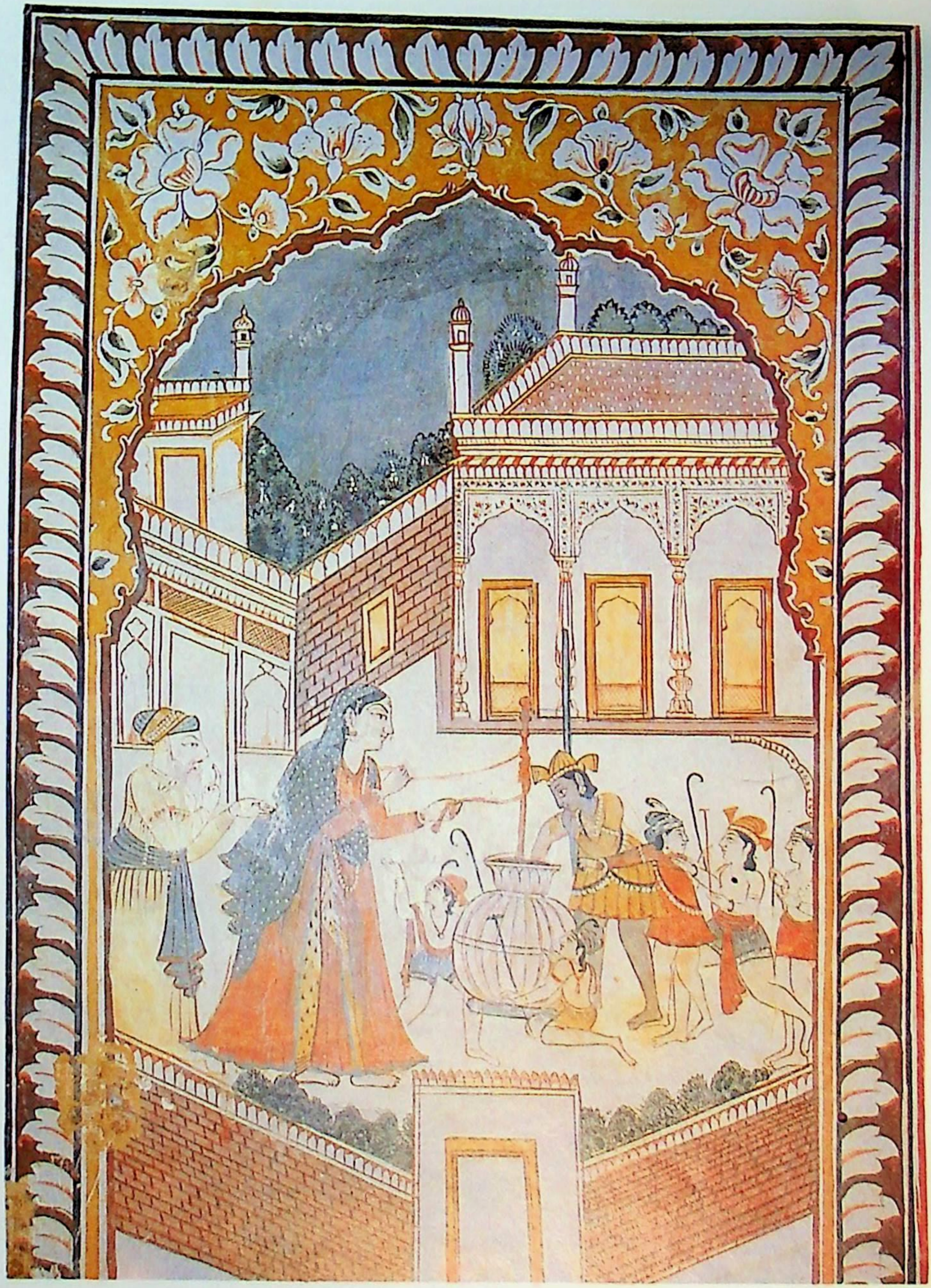


Plate XI. Yaśodā churning butter. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli

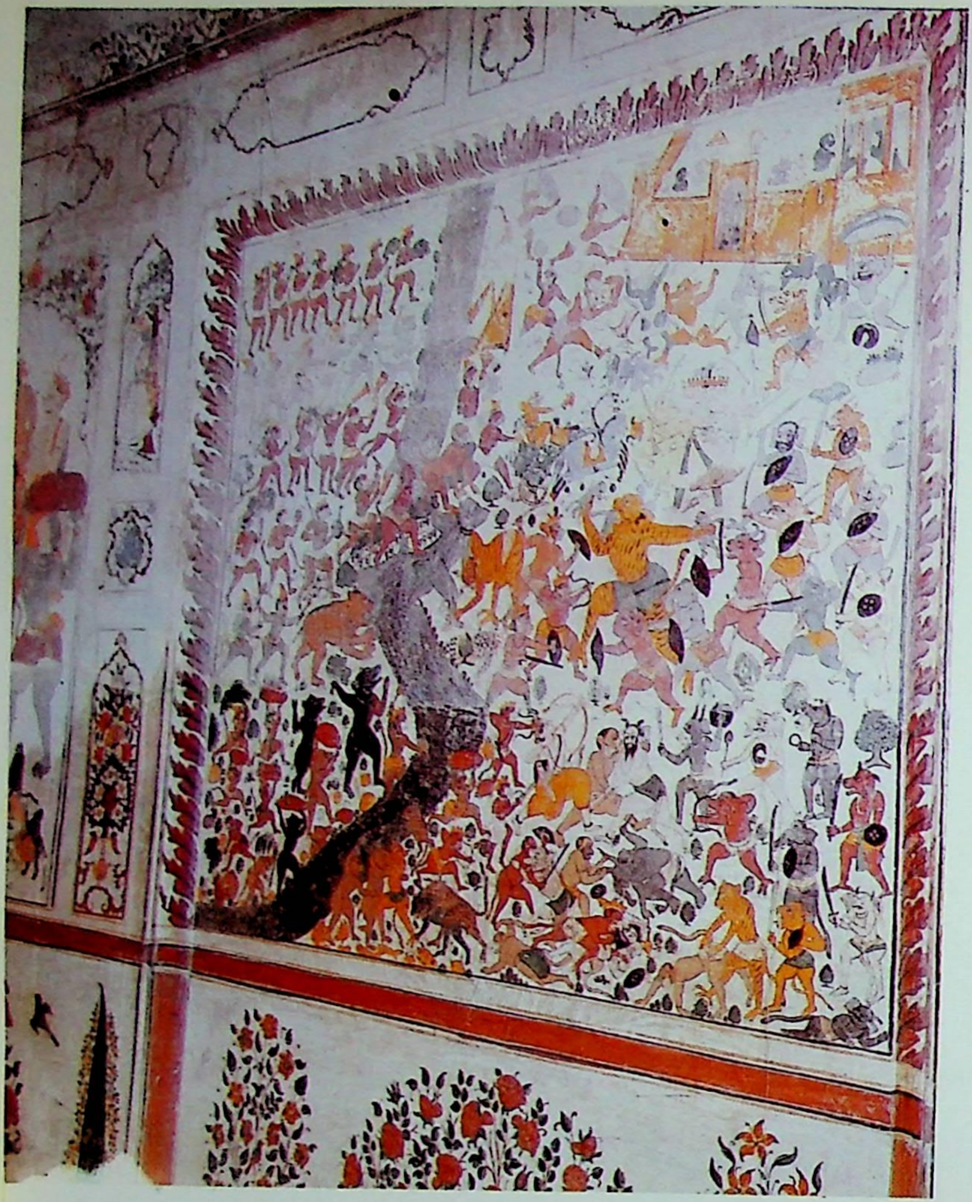


Plate XII. The armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa in battle. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli

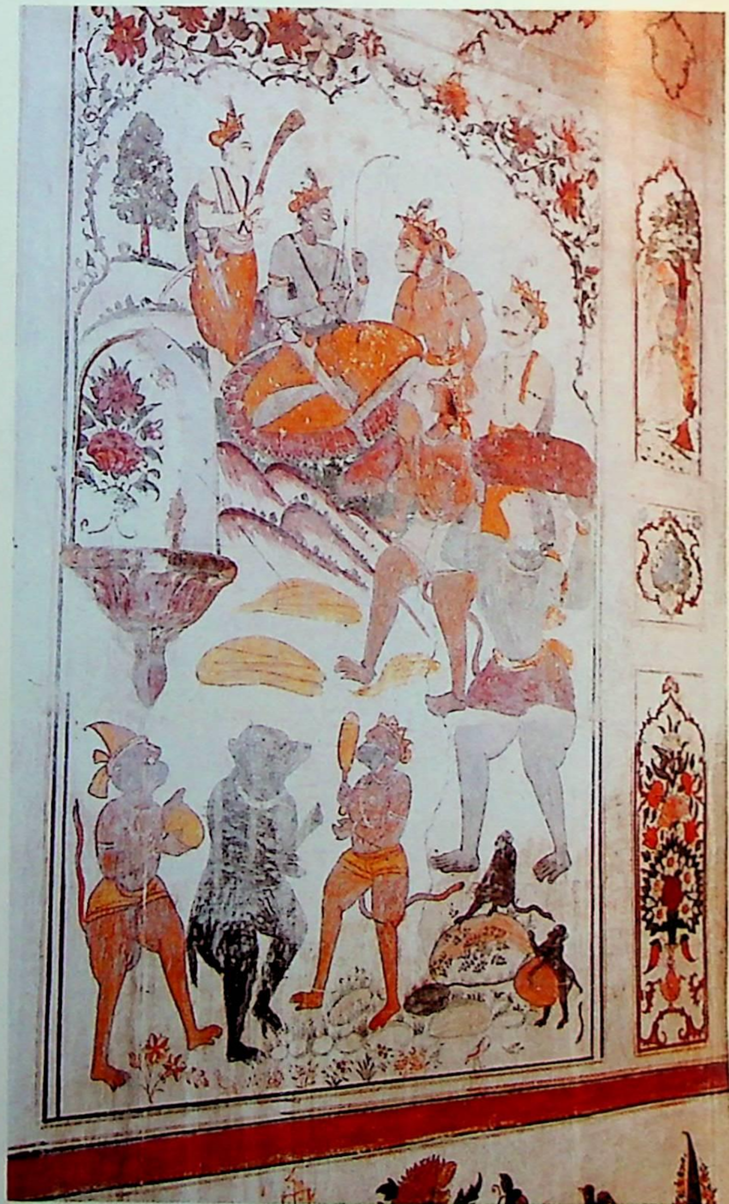


Plate XIII. Rāma and his friends in the forest. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli

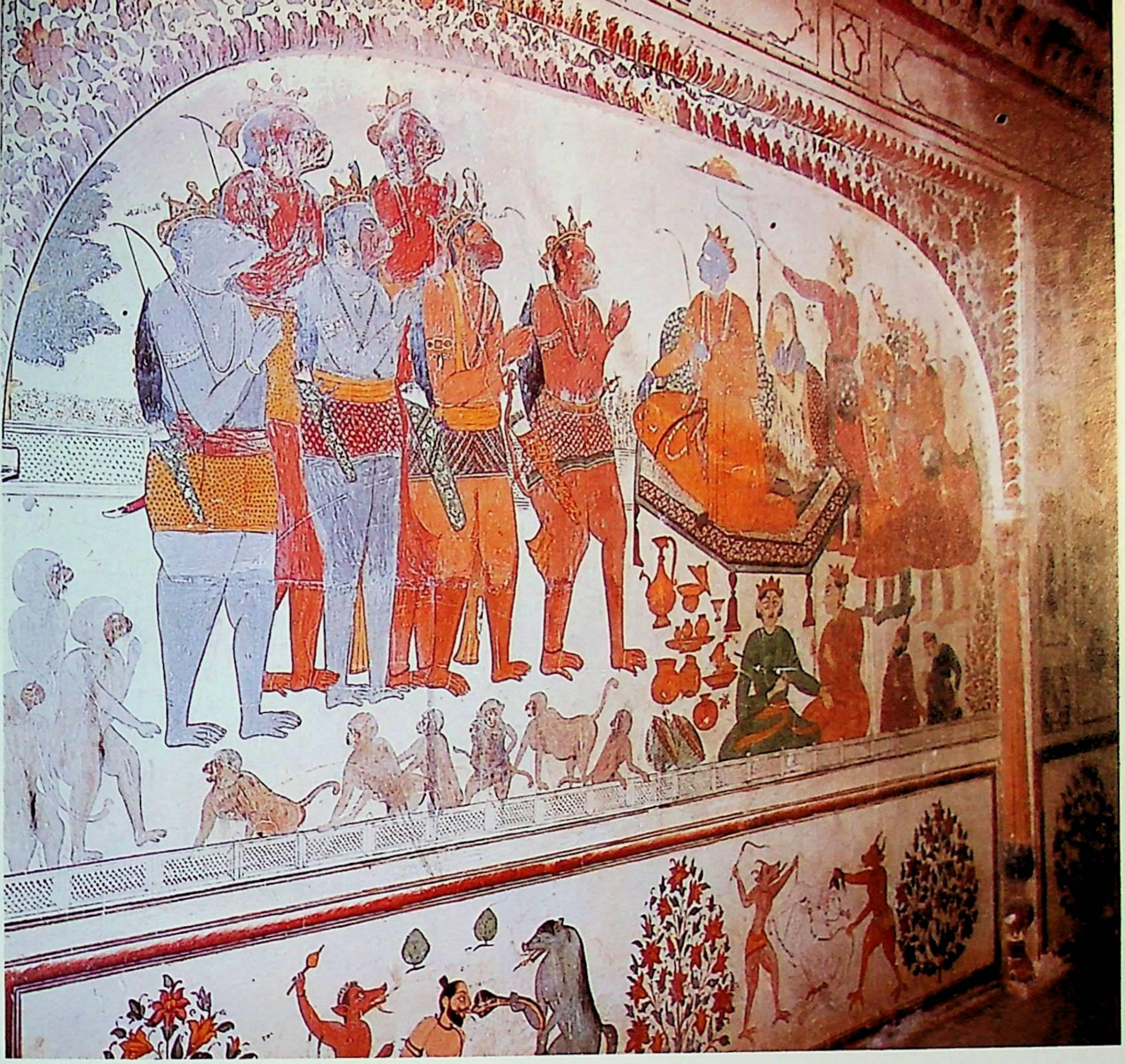


Plate XIV. Rāma's *darbār*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli

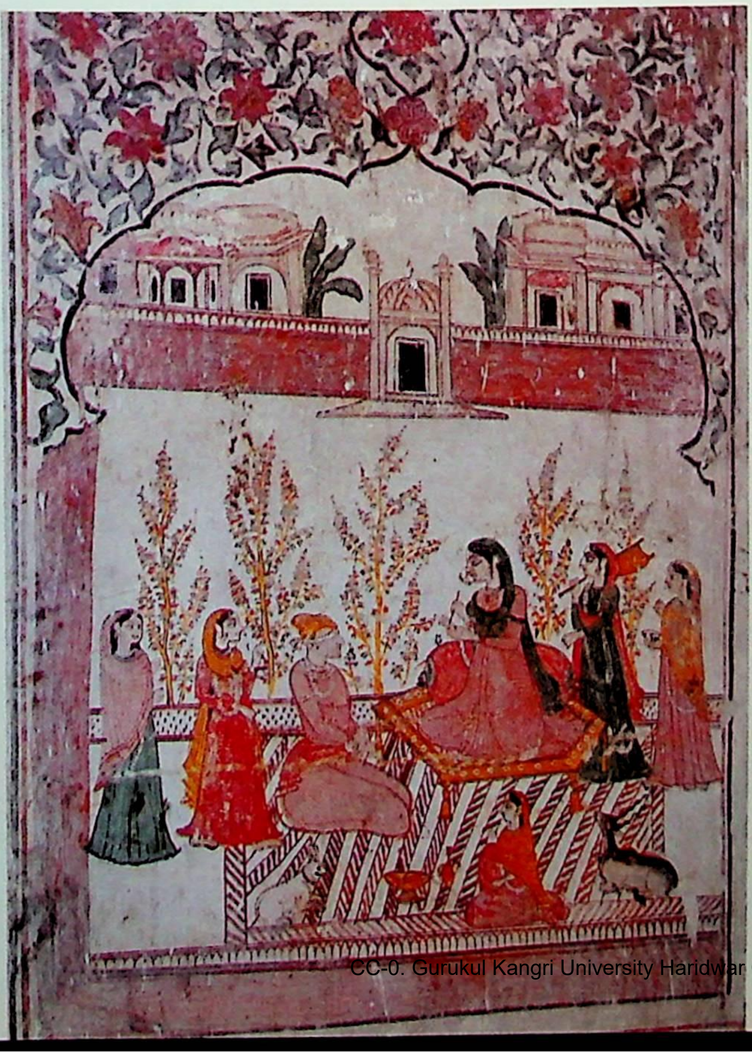


Plate XV. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Plate XVI. *Kaliya-madh-mardhana*. Prem Dās ki *samādhī*, Sui Simbli

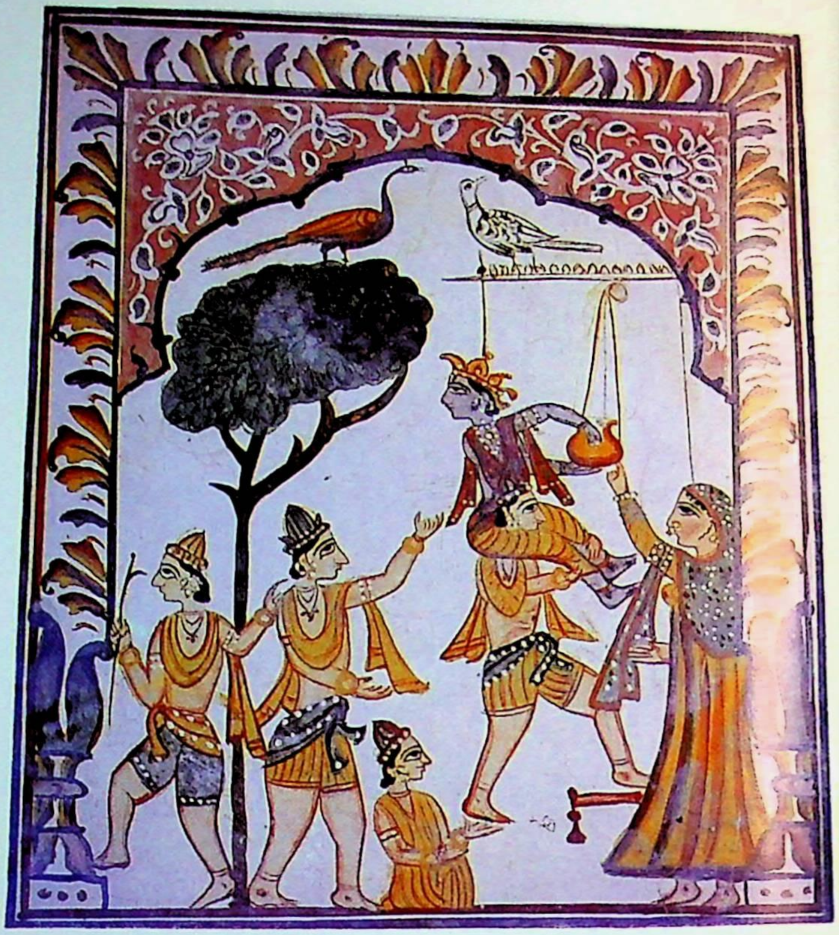


Plate XVII. Kṛṣṇa stealing butter. Prem Dās ki *samādhī*, Sui Simbli

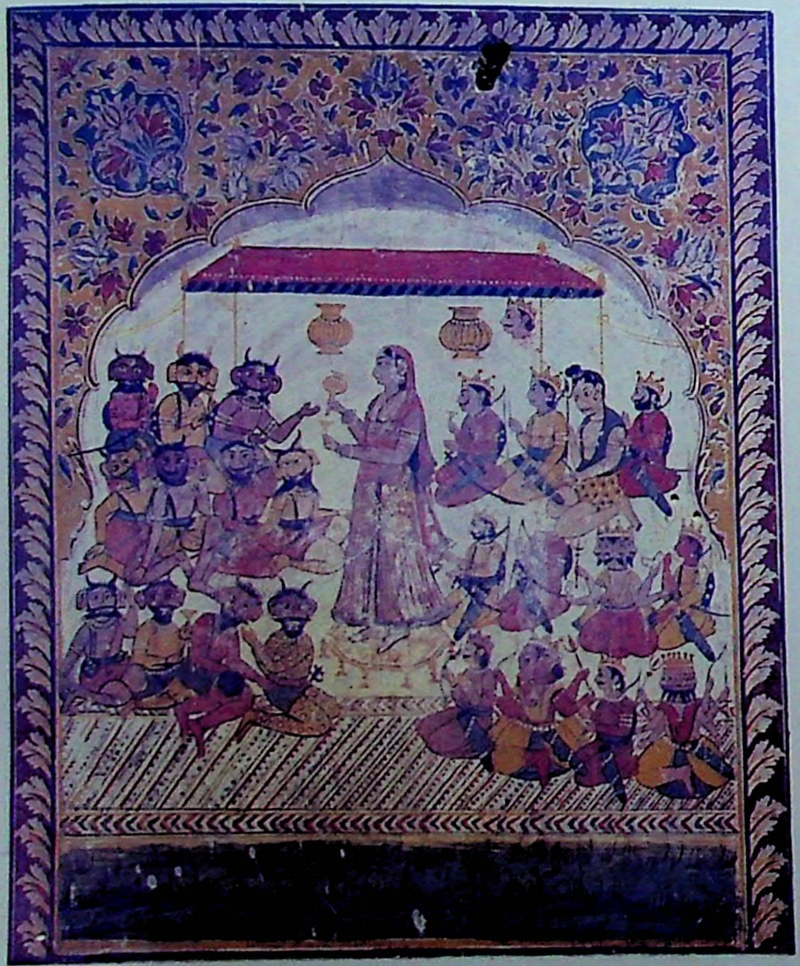


Plate XVIII. Viṣṇu in his *mohinī-rūp* distributing *amṛit* to the *devatās*. Rām-ji-kā-*mandir*, Jammu



Plate XIX. Three couples. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Mule Chak

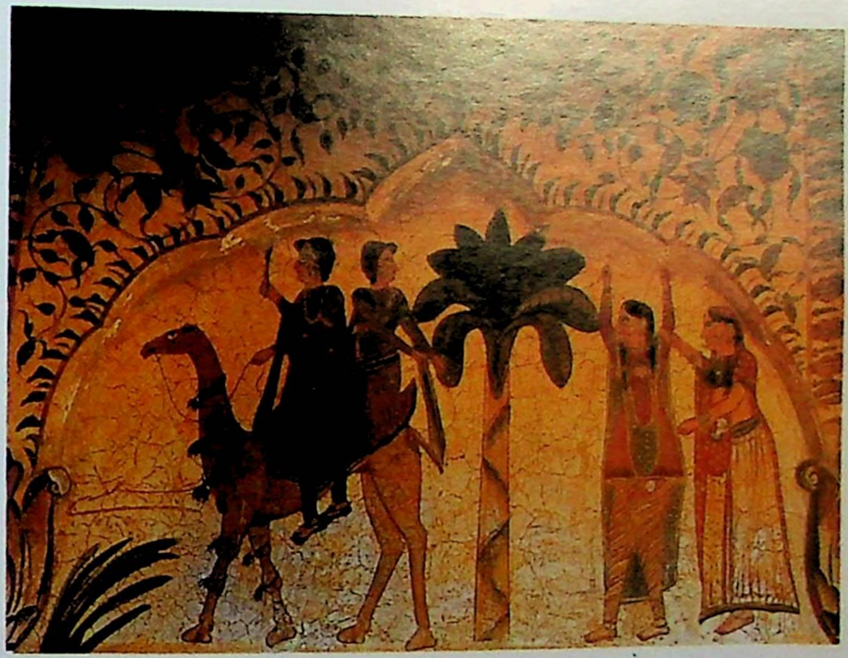


Plate XX. Women bidding farewell to their husbands. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Mule Chak



Plate XXI. Kṛṣṇa being conveyed by Vasudeva to Yaśodā's home. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Mule Chak

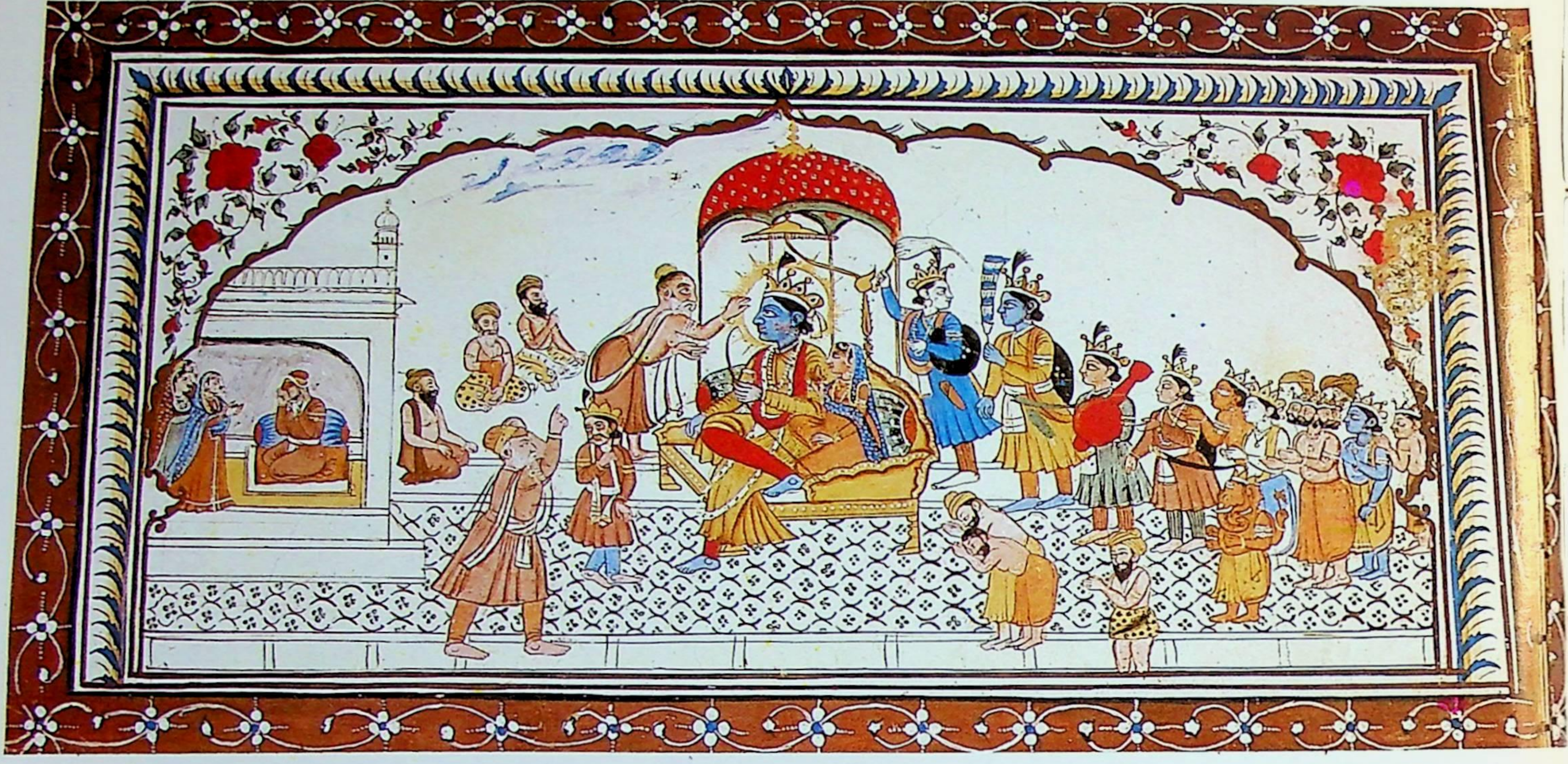


Plate XXII. Pre-coronation ceremonies being performed around Rāma. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXIII. Detail from Pl. XXII; a sad Daśaratha with Kaikeyī requesting him for Rāma's exile. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXIV. The exiled Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā crossing the river to the forest. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

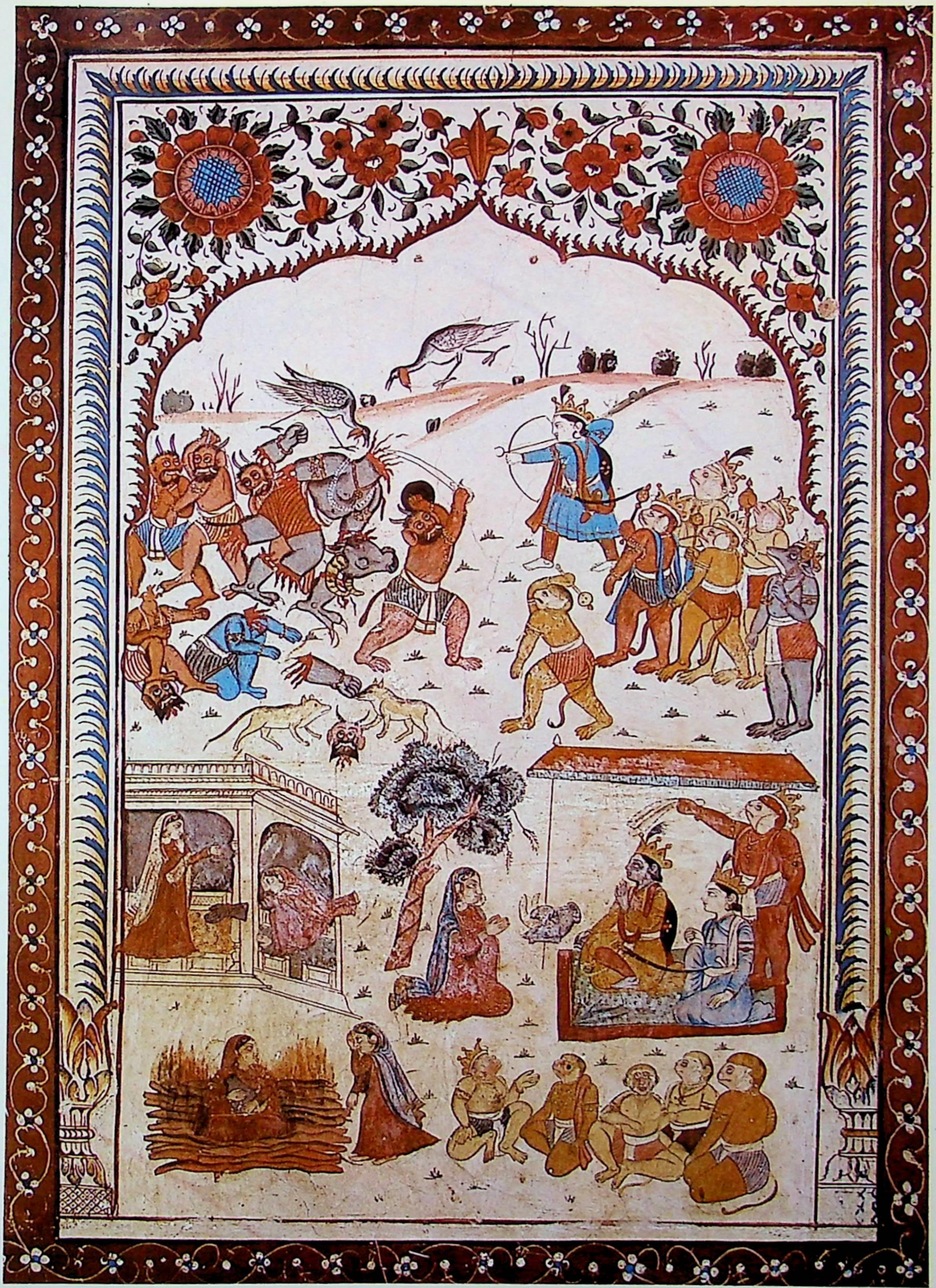


Plate XXV. The fight between the armies of Rāma and Rāvana. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXVI. The fight between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

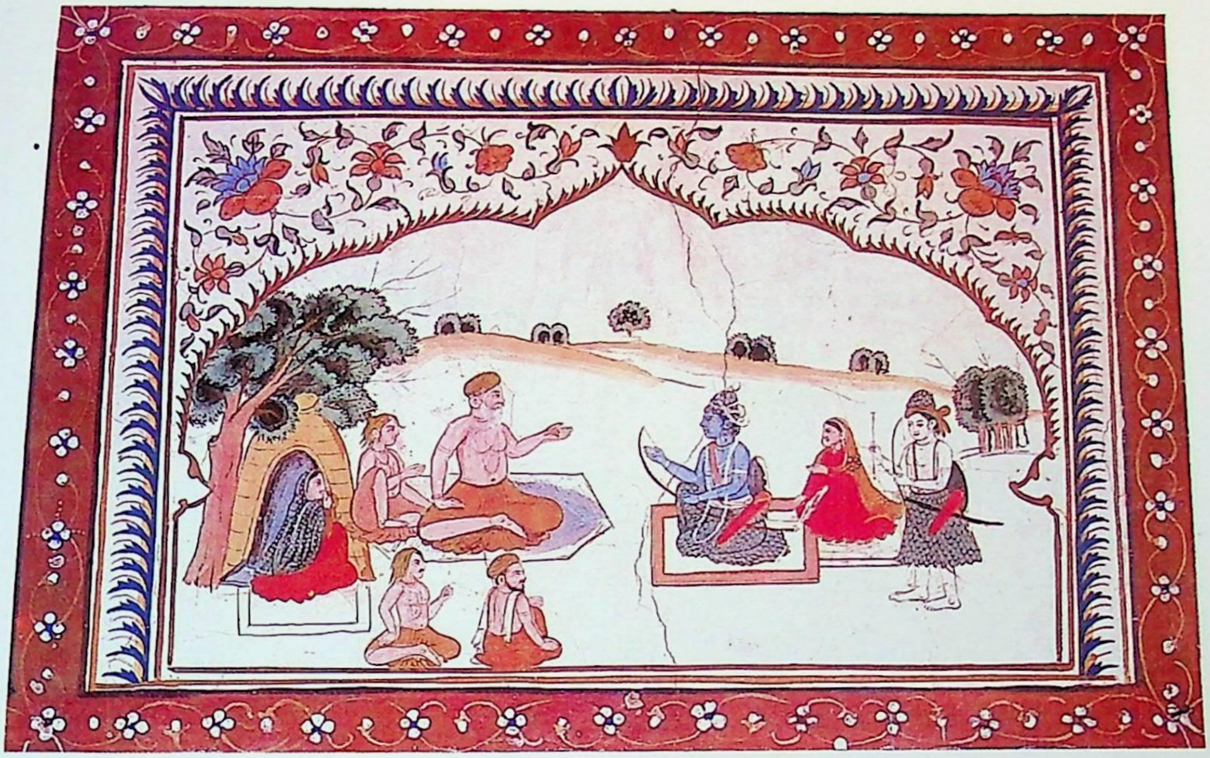


Plate XXVII. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā sitting in front of *ṛṣī* Atri and his wife. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXVIII. Detail from Pl. XXVII; Rāma with *ṛṣi* Atri and his wife. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXIX. Śūrpaṇakhā in front of Rāma's *kutīr*. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

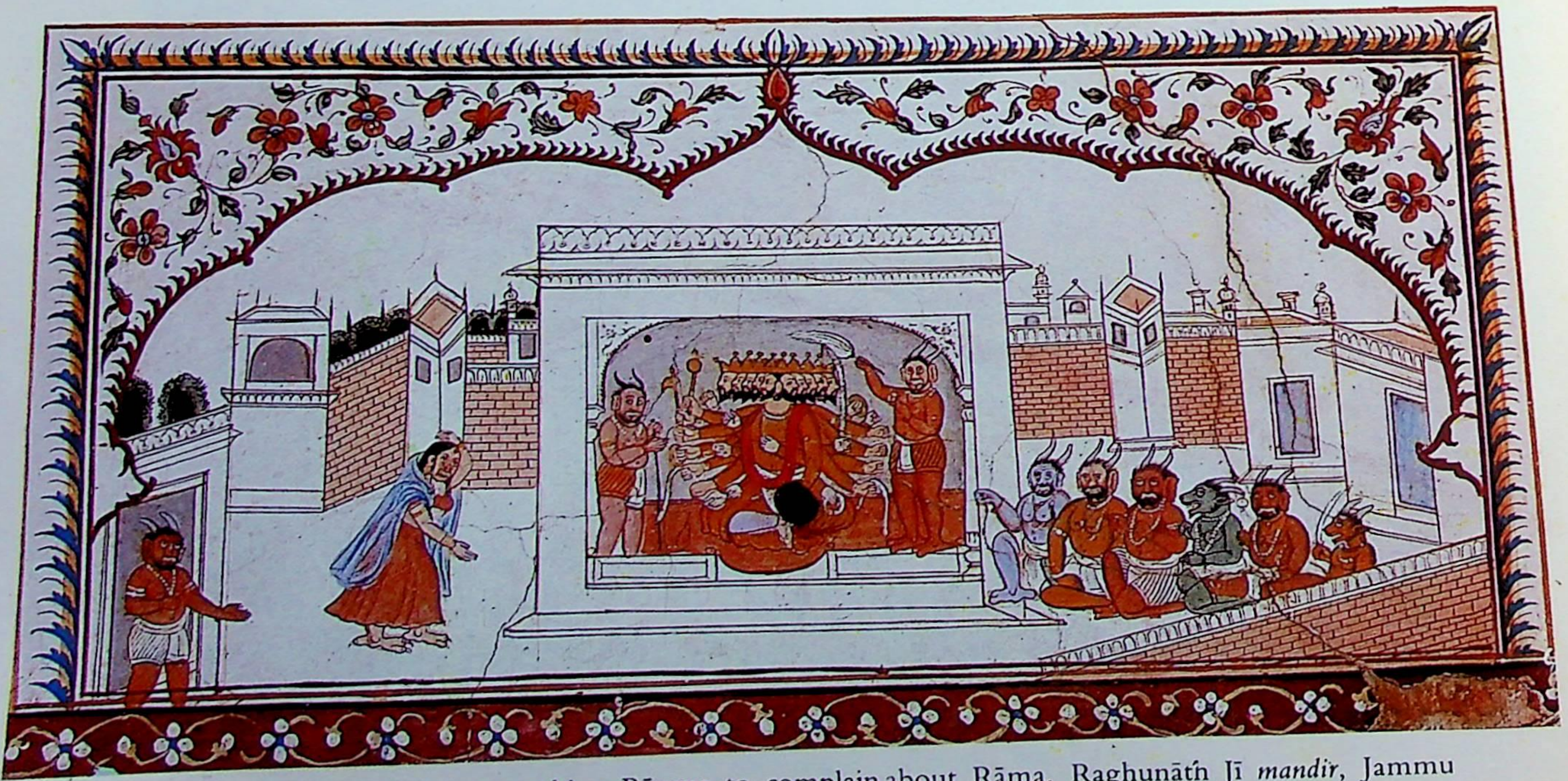


Plate XXX. Śurpaṇakhā approaching Rāvaṇa to complain about Rāma. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

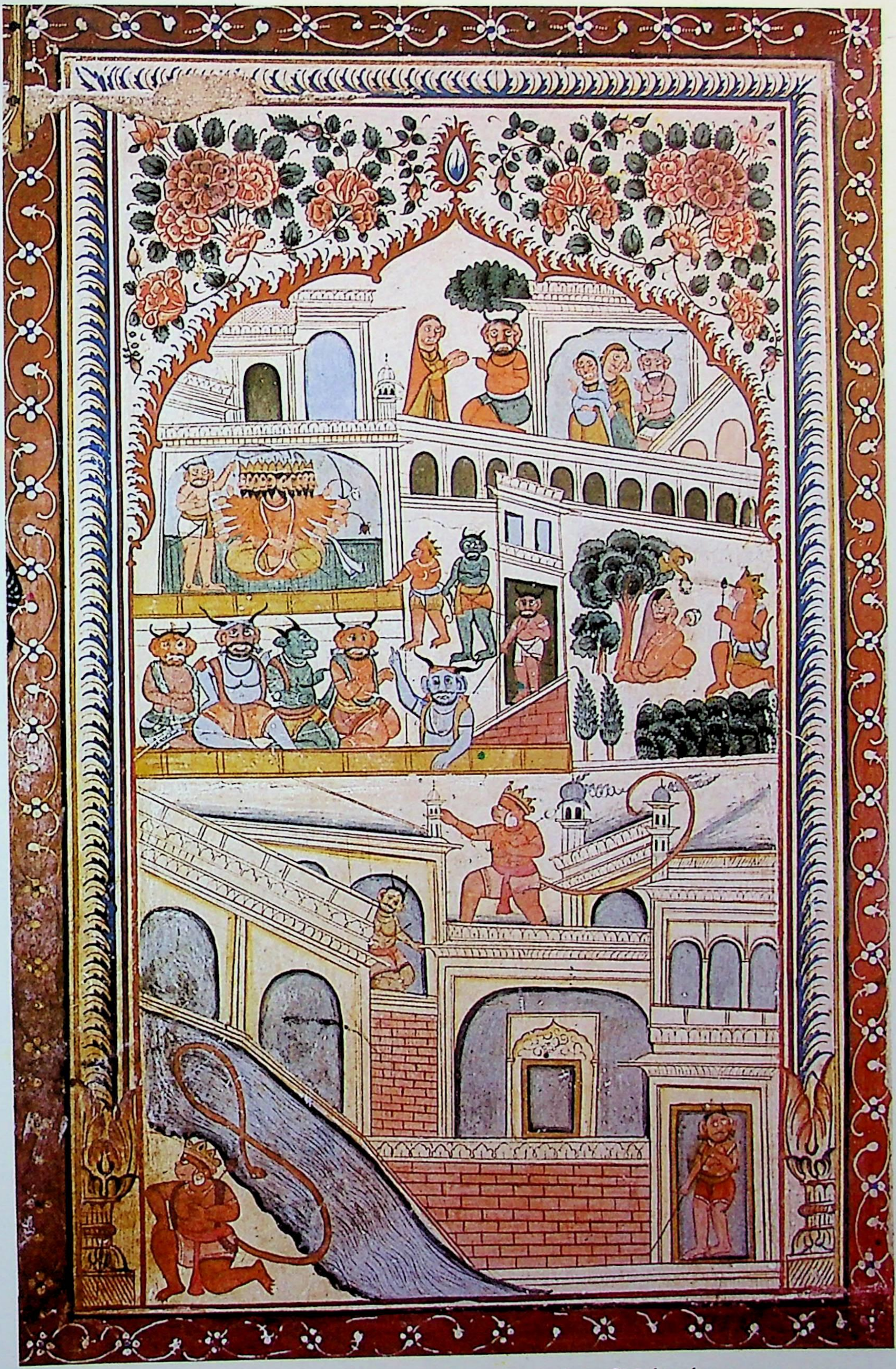


Plate XXXI. Rāvaṇa's garden palace where Sītā has been imprisoned. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

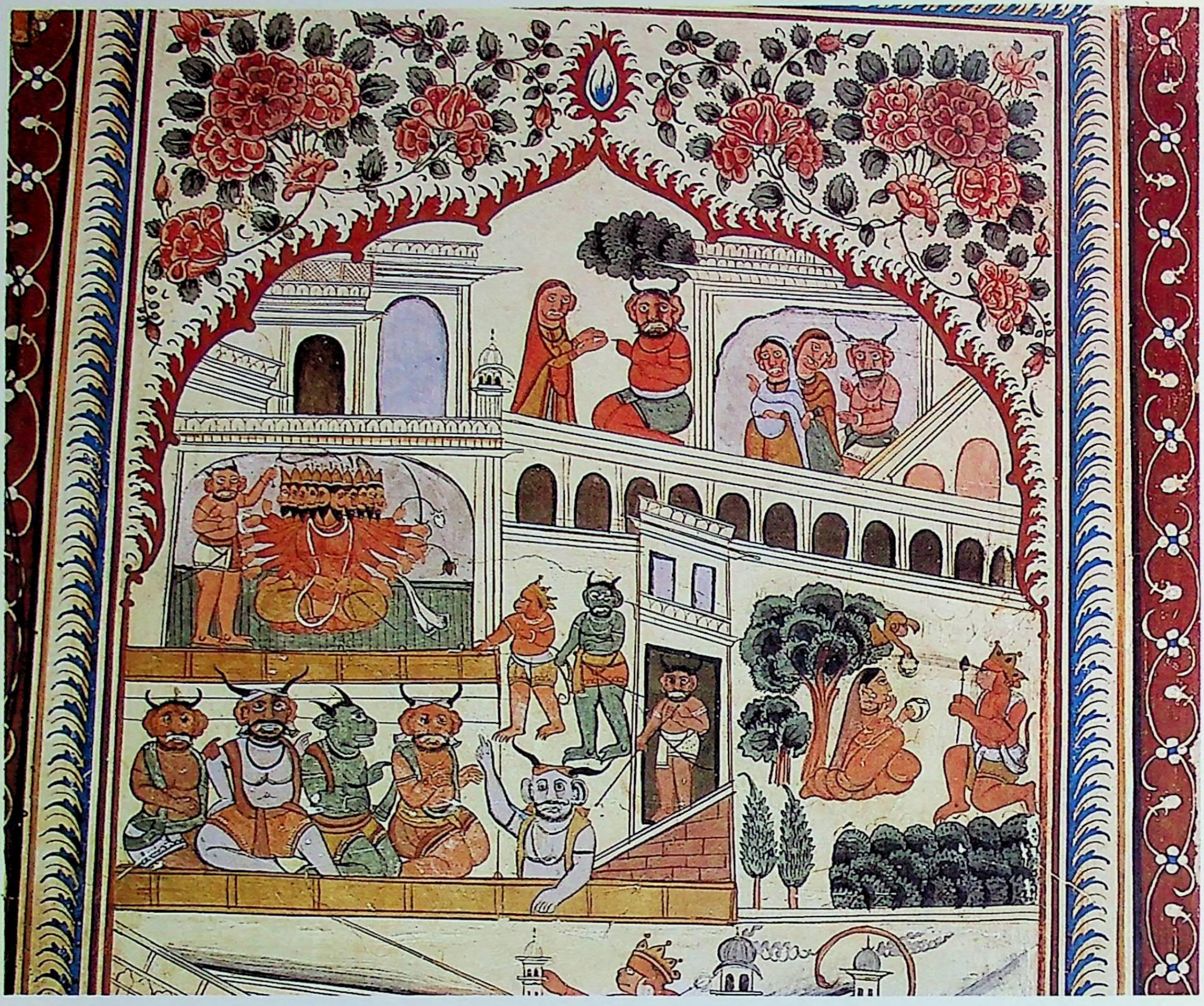


Plate XXXII. Detail from Pl. XXXI; Sītā guarded by Rāvaṇa's *rākṣasas*. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXXIII. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in front of their empty hut. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

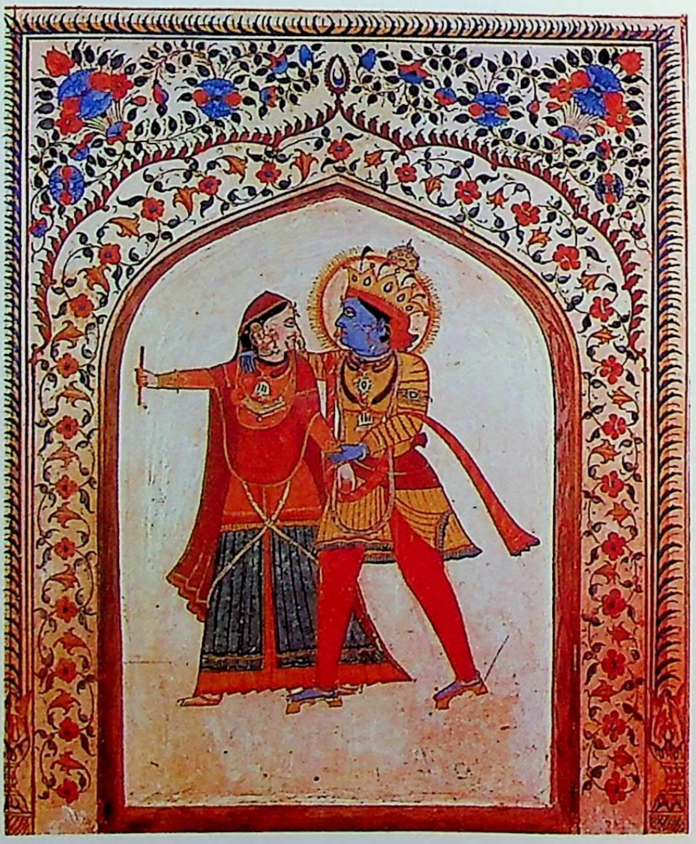
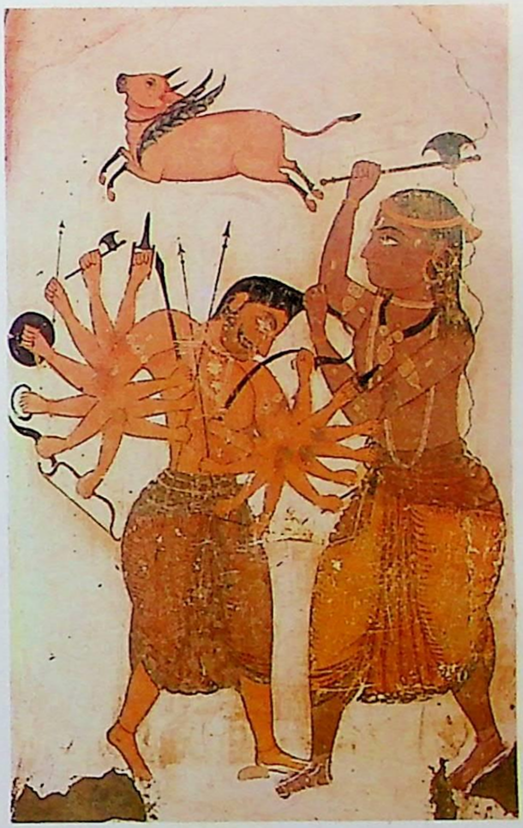


Plate XXXIV. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Raghunāth Ji *mandir*, Jammu



Plate XXXV. Rāma shooting Bāli. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

Plate XXXVII. Parśurāma killing Sahasrabāhu. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



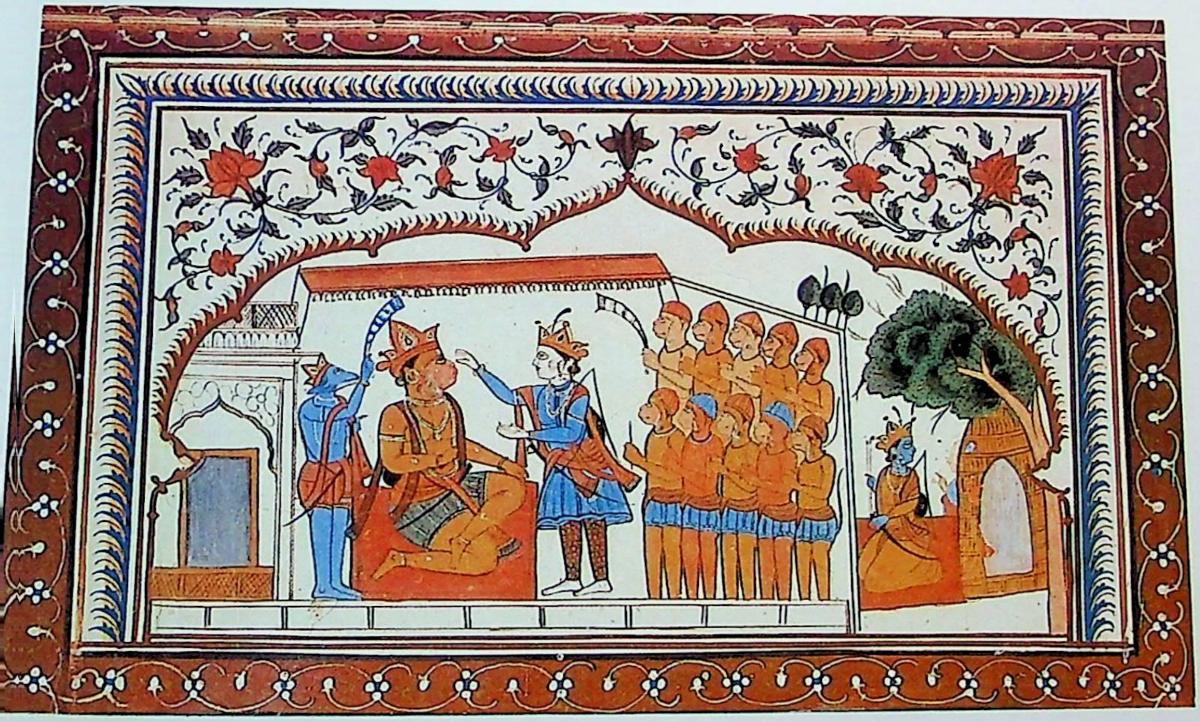


Plate XXXVI. The coronation of Sugrīva. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu

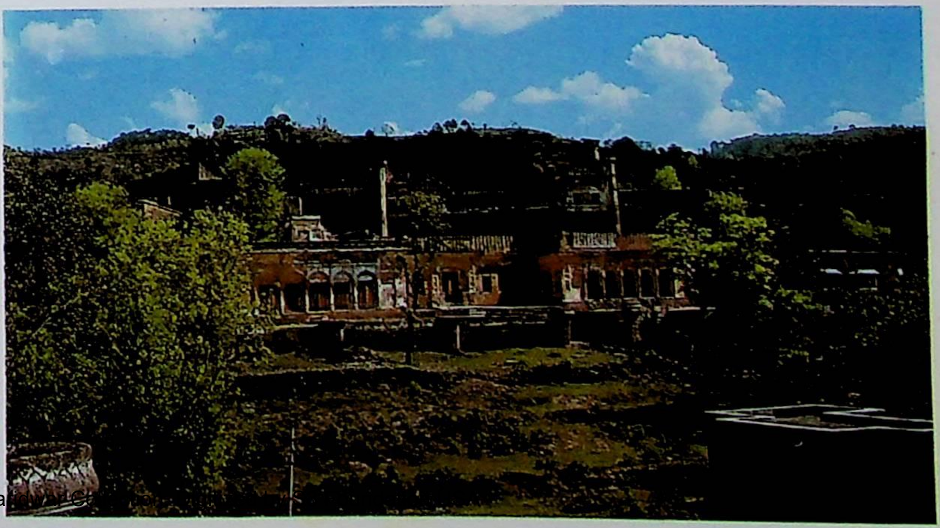


Plate XXXVIII. Ramnagar Palace. Ramnagar



Plate XXXIX. Rukminī-*haraṇ*. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall



Plate XL. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall

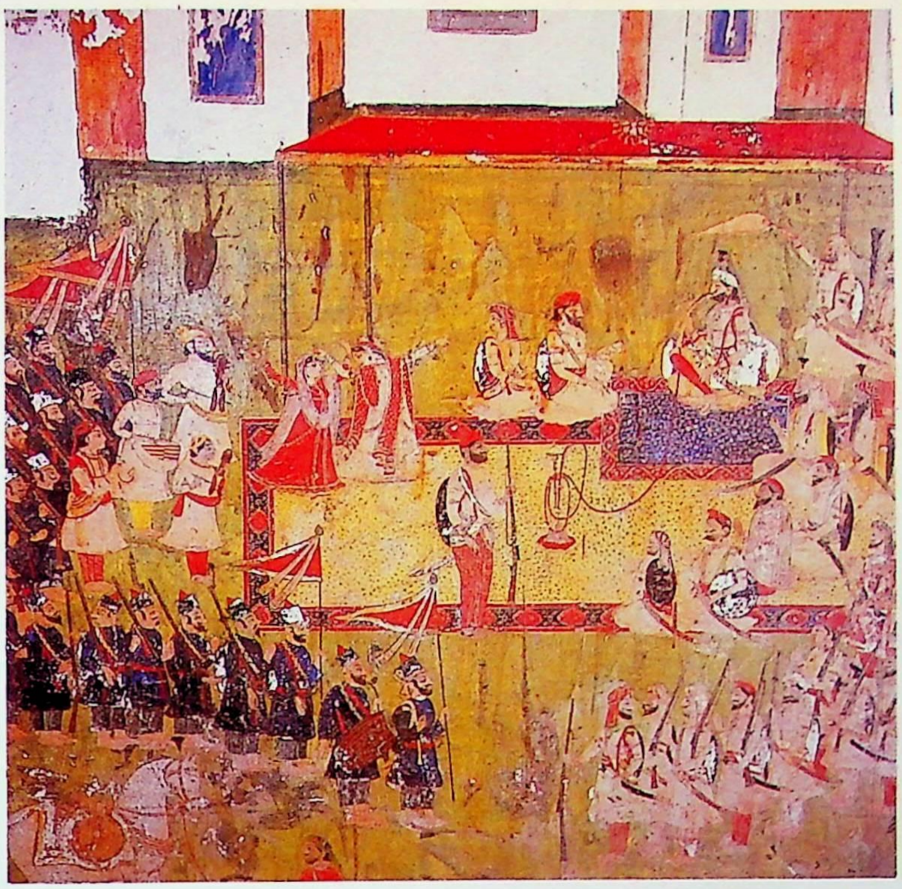


Plate XLI. Dancers in Suchet Singh's Palace.
Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall



Plate XLII. Wedding of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall



Plate XLIII. The wedding of Suchet Singh. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom

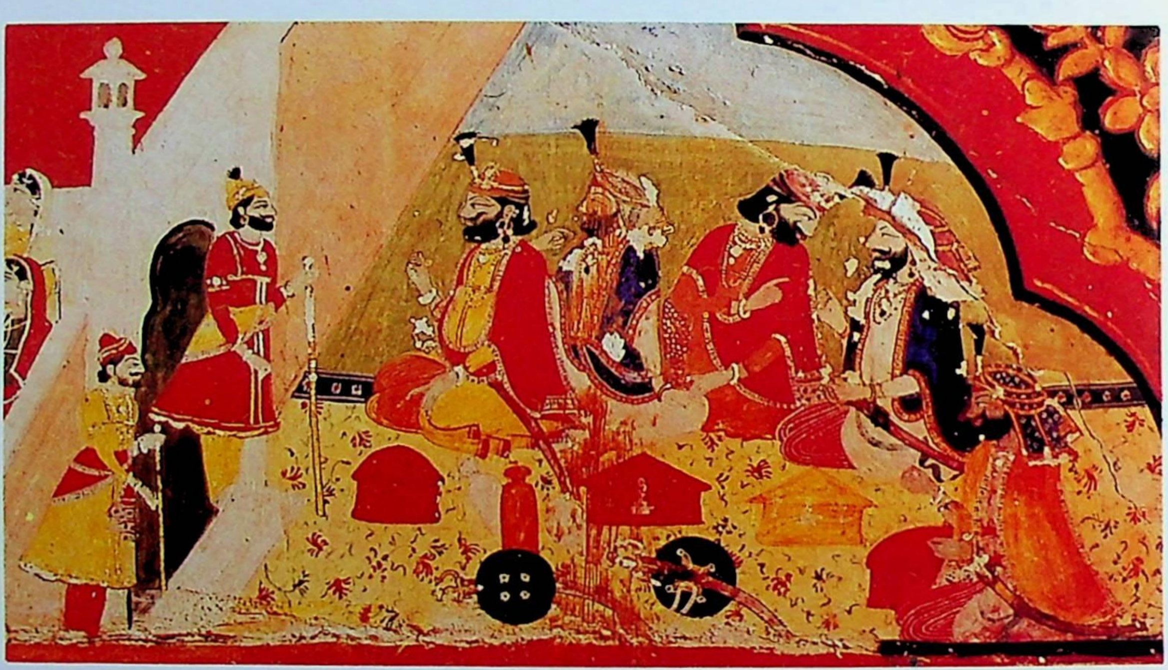


Plate XLIV. Detail from Pl. XLIII; *bārātīs* at the wedding



Plate XLV. Detail from Pl. XLIII; Suchet Singh and his bride at the marriage ceremony



Plate XLVI. *Darbār* of Suchet Singh. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate XLVII. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in the forest. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate XLVIII. Śiva and Pārvatī with their family. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate XLIX. Suchet Singh with his army. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate L. Suchet Singh on horseback.
Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate LI. A battle scene. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom

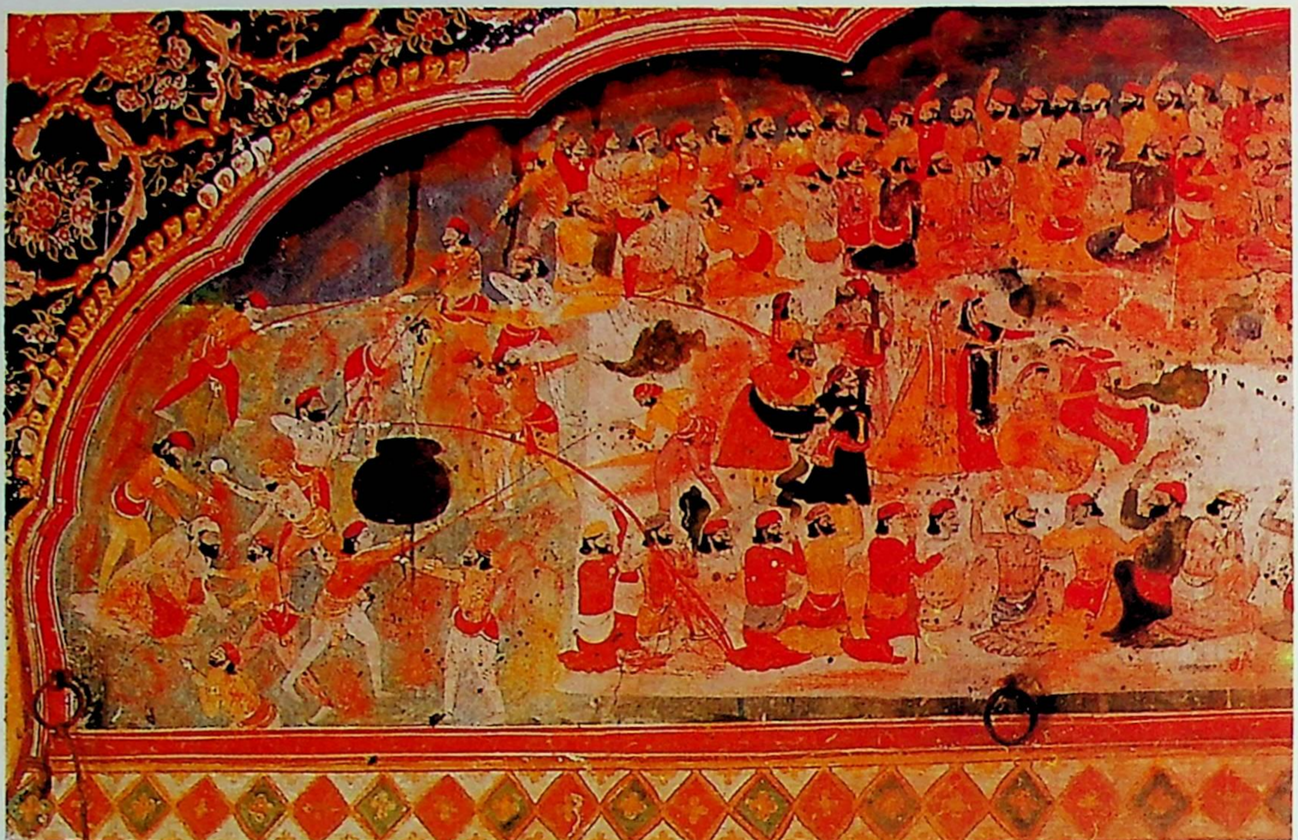


Plate LII. Holi. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Plate LIII. The fight between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 1. Begum and companions hunting. National Museum



Fig. 2. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh and the three Dogra brothers. Temple of Bairagis, Ramtatwali, Hoshiarpur, Punjab



Fig. 3. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's *darbār*, painted by August Schoefft



Fig. 4. Mahārājā Gulab Singh. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu



Fig. 5. Mahārājā Dhian Singh. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu



Fig. 6. Rājā Suchet Singh. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu



Fig. 7. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purānī Mandi, Jammu



Fig. 8. Portraits of Arjun, Ruldu and Kanchnu. Chandigarh State Museum

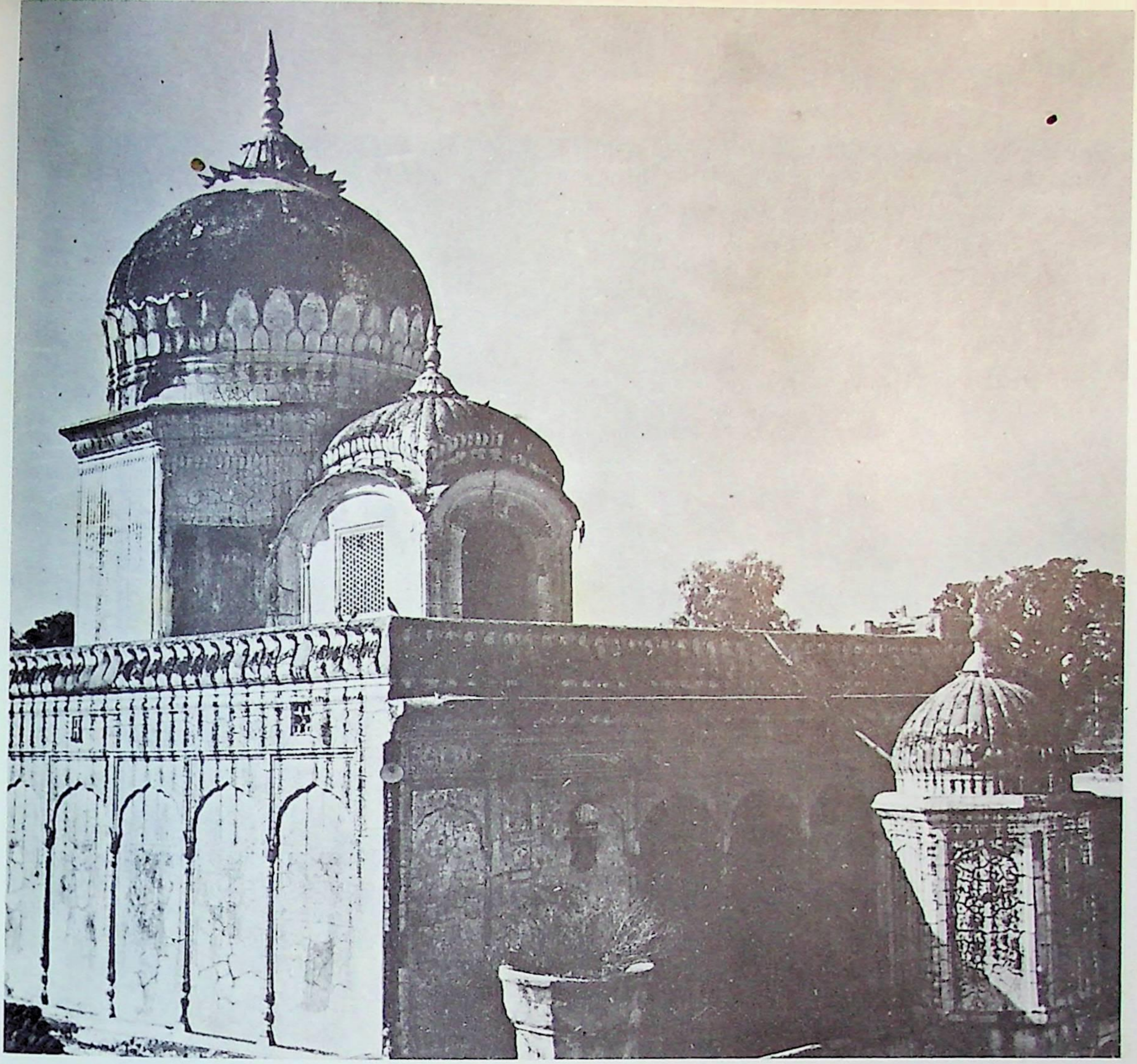


Fig. 9. The Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 10. Kṛṣṇa with the *gopās* and *gōpīs*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 14. Detail from Fig. 13 showing Sītā and Rāma sitting on a throne

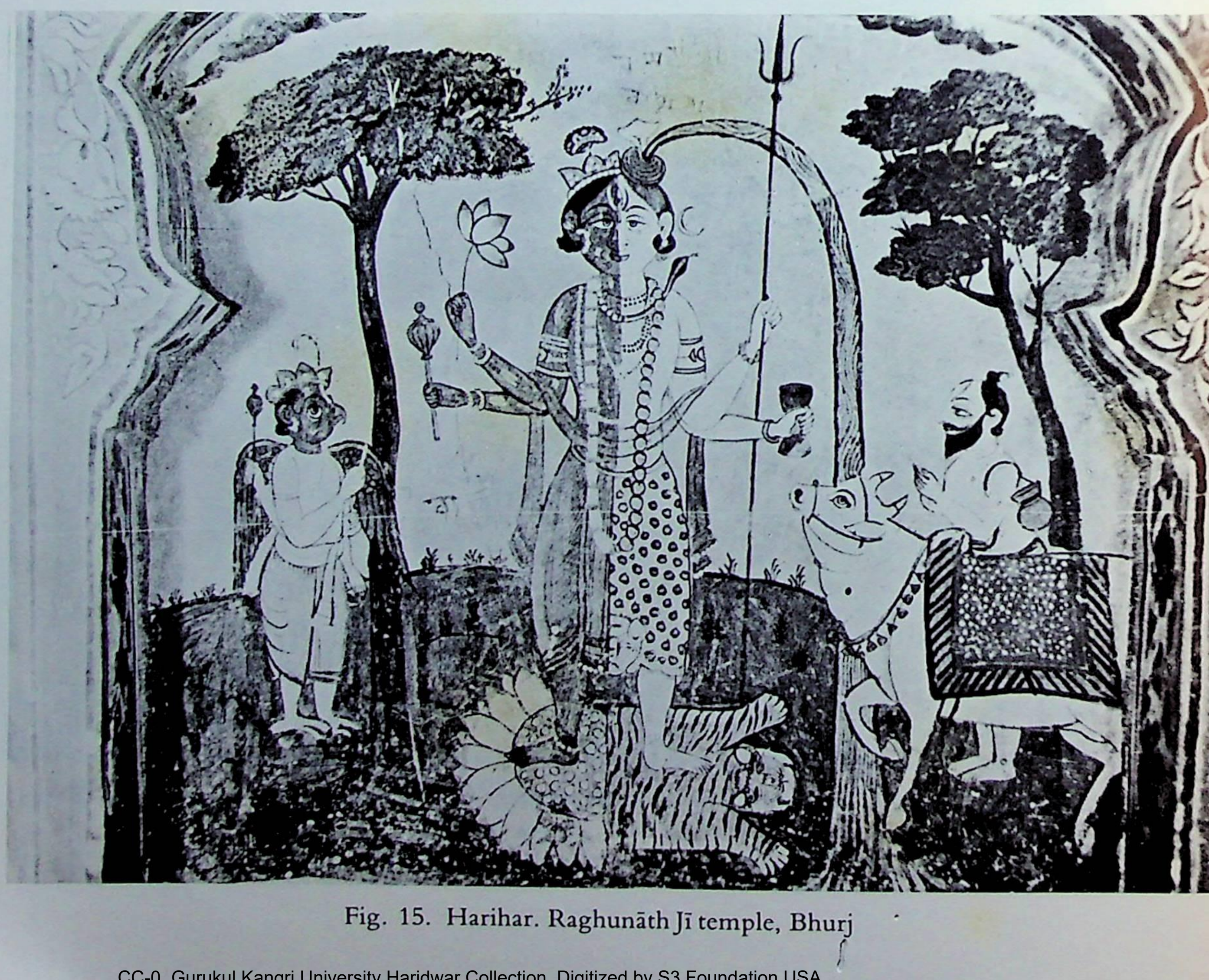


Fig. 15. Harihar. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 16. Gaja paying homage to Viṣṇu. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 17. Rāma visiting the *kutīr* of Gautama *rishi*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

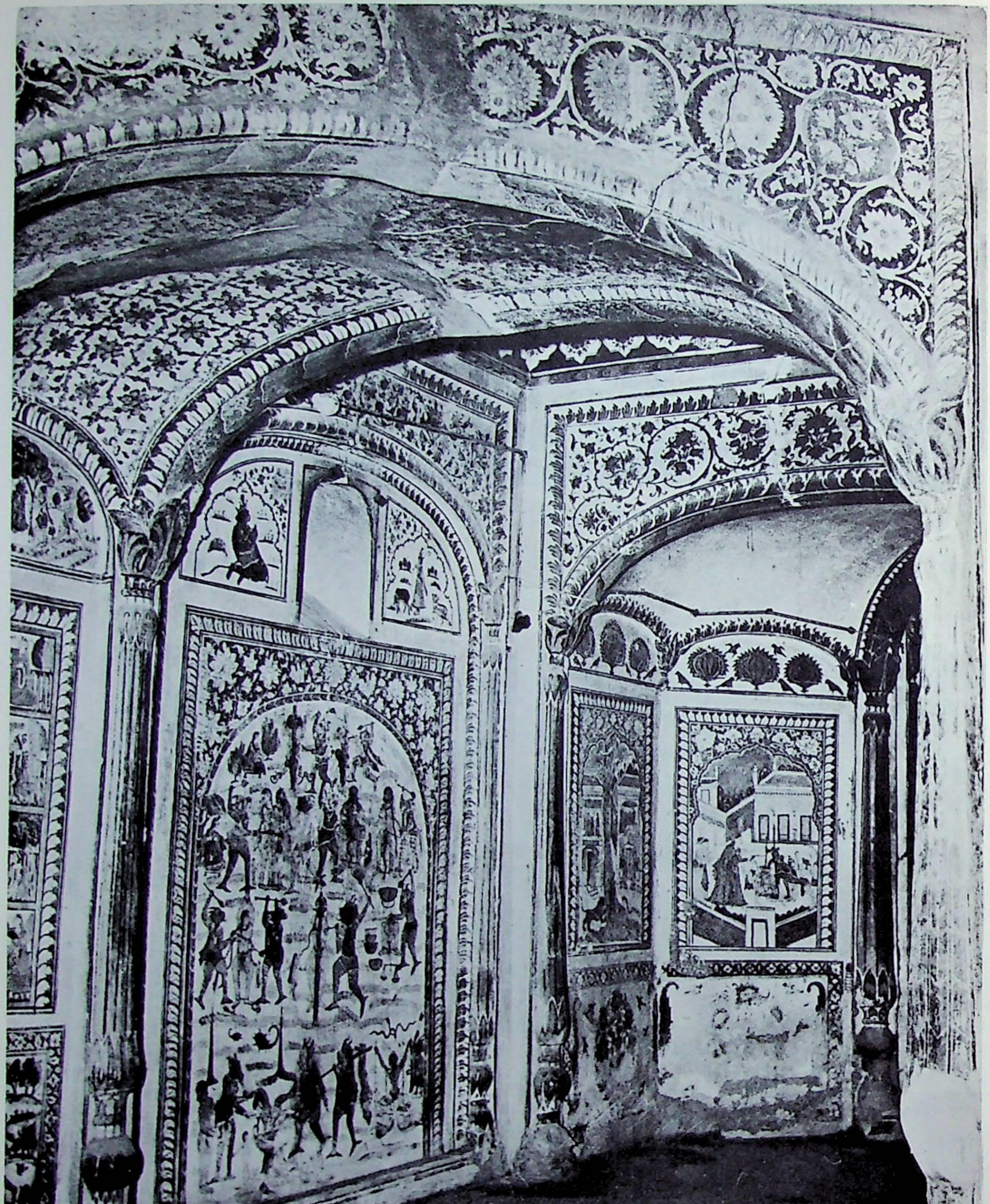


Fig. 18. The *parikramā* of Bhurj temple. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 19. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā under a tree. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 20. *Narak kund*, scenes of torture. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 21. *Narak kund*, detail from Fig. 20



Fig. 22. The fight between the *devatās* and the *rākṣasas*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 23. Kṛṣṇa in his *vastraharaṇ rūp*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 24. Kṛṣṇa serenading Rādhā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

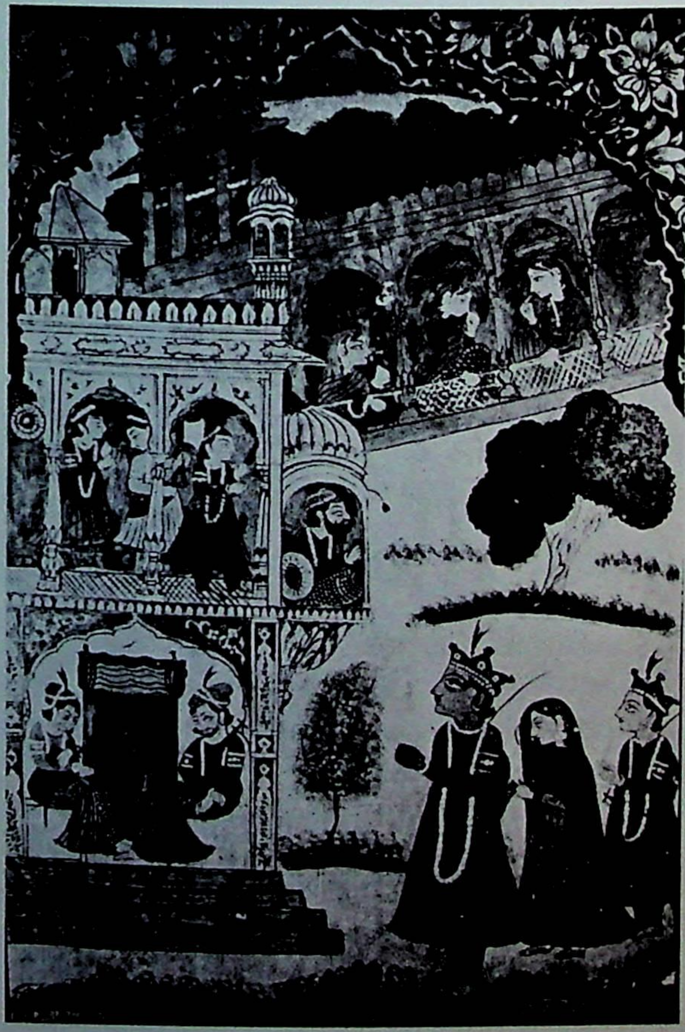


Fig. 25. Rāma returning with his bride to Ayodhyā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 26. Detail from Fig. 25; Rāma and Sītā



Fig. 23. Kṛṣṇa in his *vastraharaṇ rūp*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

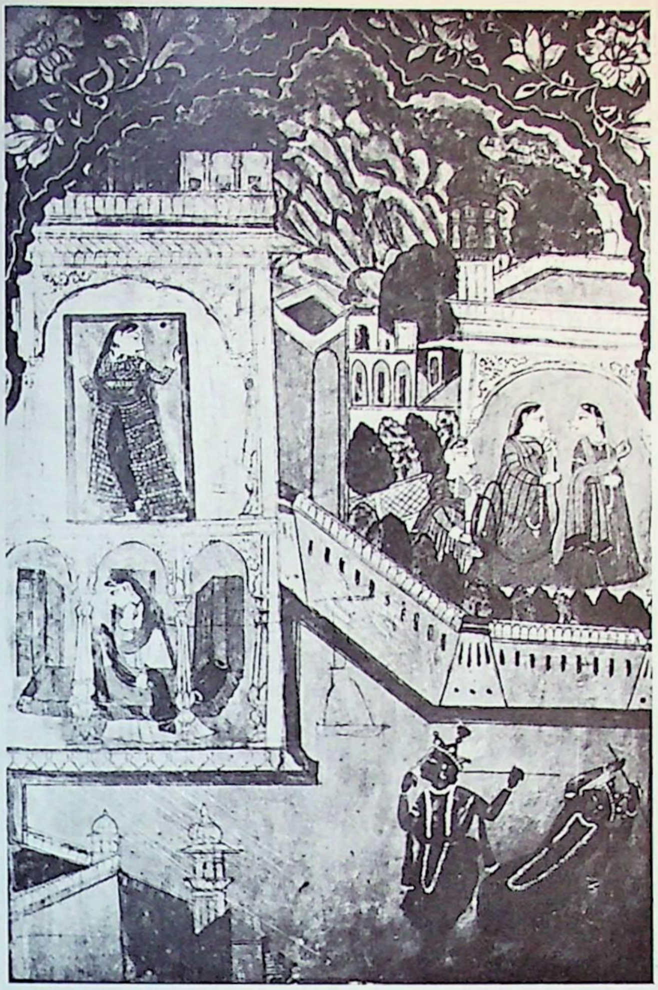


Fig. 24. Kṛṣṇa serenading Rādhā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 25. Rāma returning with his bride to Ayodhyā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 26. Detail from Fig. 25; Rāma and Sītā

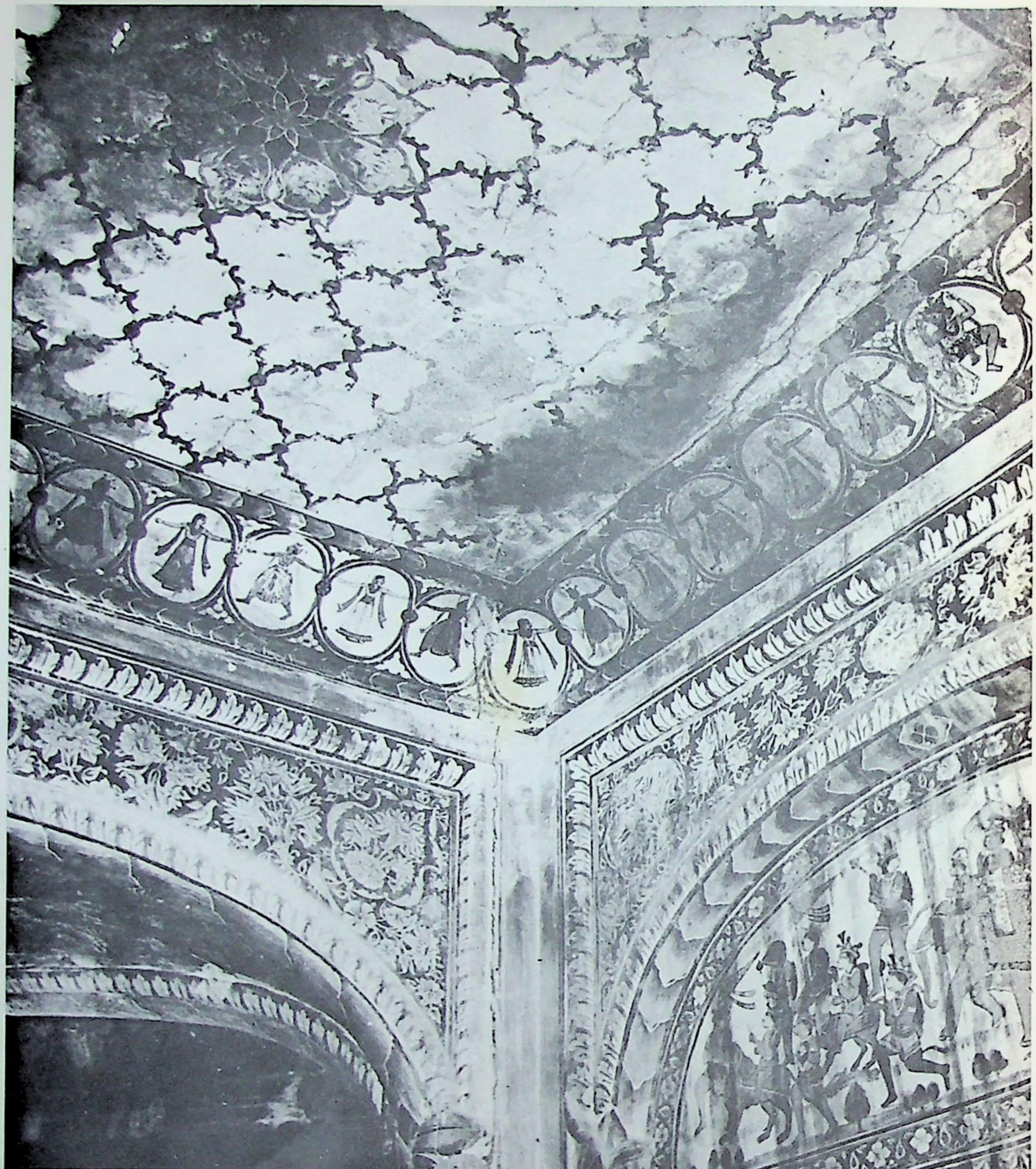


Fig. 27. Kṛṣṇa performing the *rāsa līlā* dance with the *gopīs*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj



Fig. 28. a) Kṛṣṇa playing his flute to a group of admiring *gopīs*.
b) *Narak kund*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Bhurj

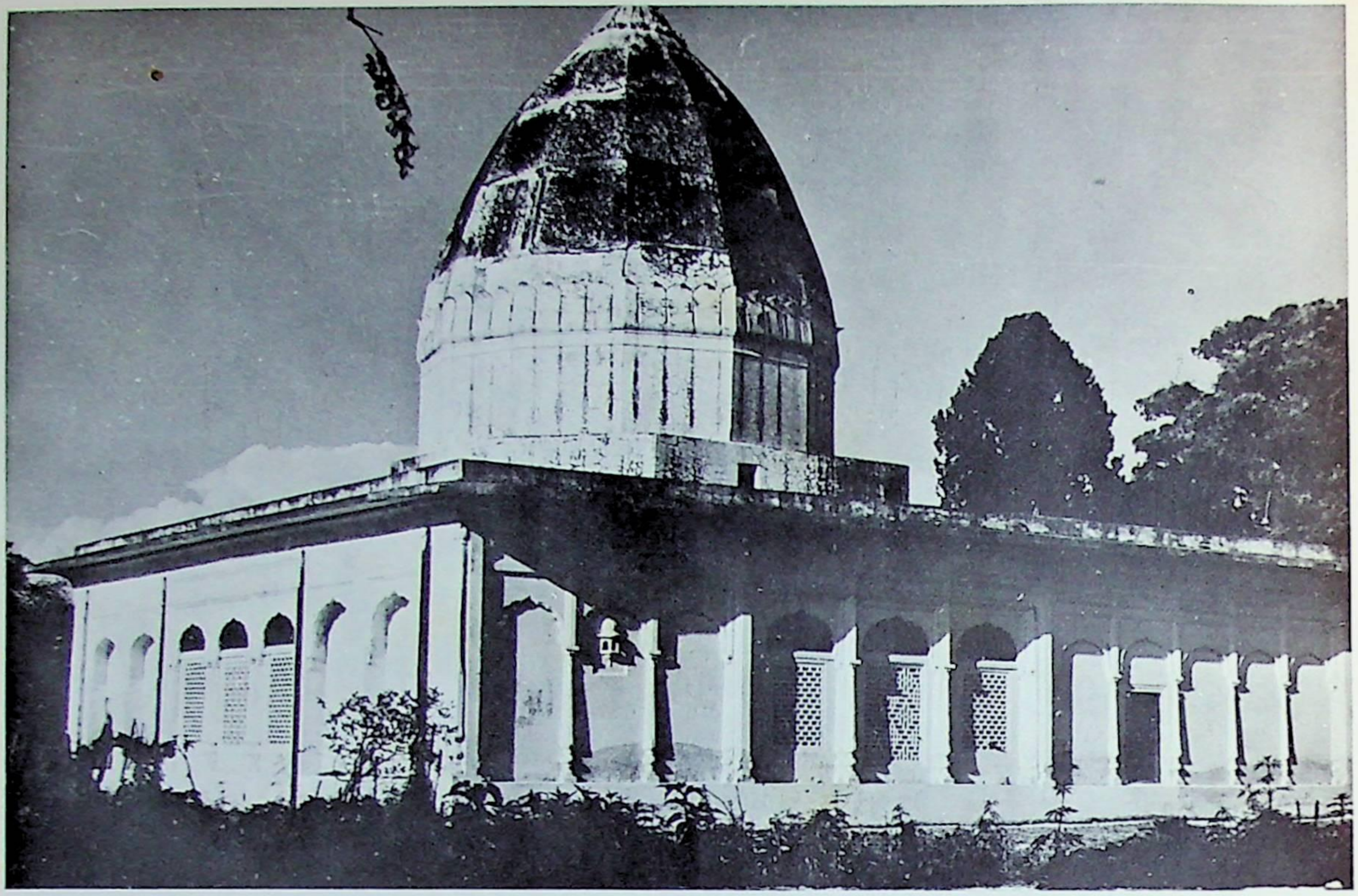


Fig. 29. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 30. Kṛṣṇa standing under an umbrella. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 31. Kabīr weaving in his hut. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 32. Rāma and Sītā. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli

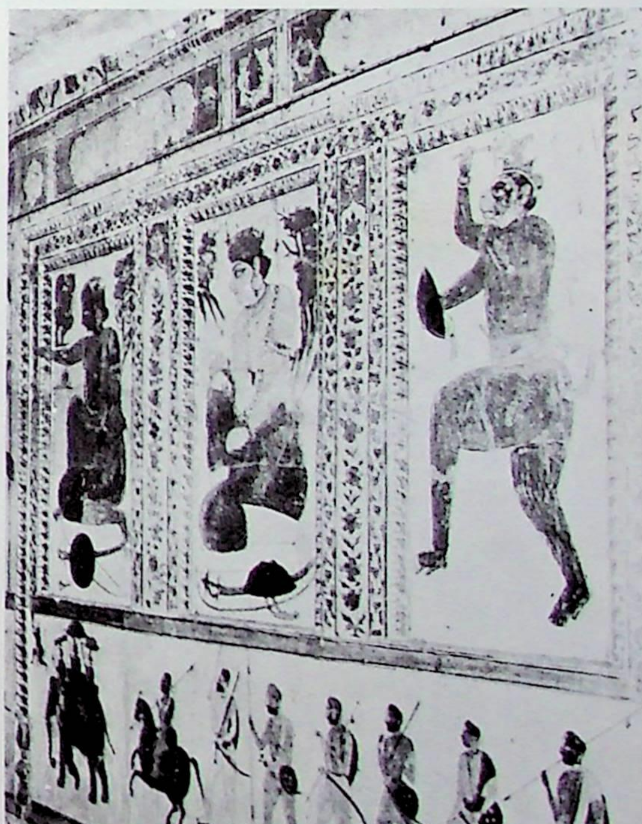


Fig. 33. *Savarī* of Śri Rāma, Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 34. Detail from Fig. 33; Hanumāna

Fig. 35. Detail from Fig. 33 showing *mahāntas* in the procession





Fig. 36. A man carrying a book. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 37. A *sādhu*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 38. a) Parśurāmā and Sahasrabāhu. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli; b) Prahlād with his parents. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 39. A *yogi*. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 40. A sinner being tortured. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 41. Kṛṣṇa in school. Raghunāth Jī temple, Sui Simbli



Fig. 42. *Devī*. Bābā Prem Dās kī *samādhī*, Sui Simbli



Fig. 43. Kṛṣṇa stealing butter. Prem Dās kī *samādhī*, Sui Simbli



Fig. 44. Kṛṣṇa doing *rāsa līlā*—Prem Dās kī *samādhī*, Sui Simbli

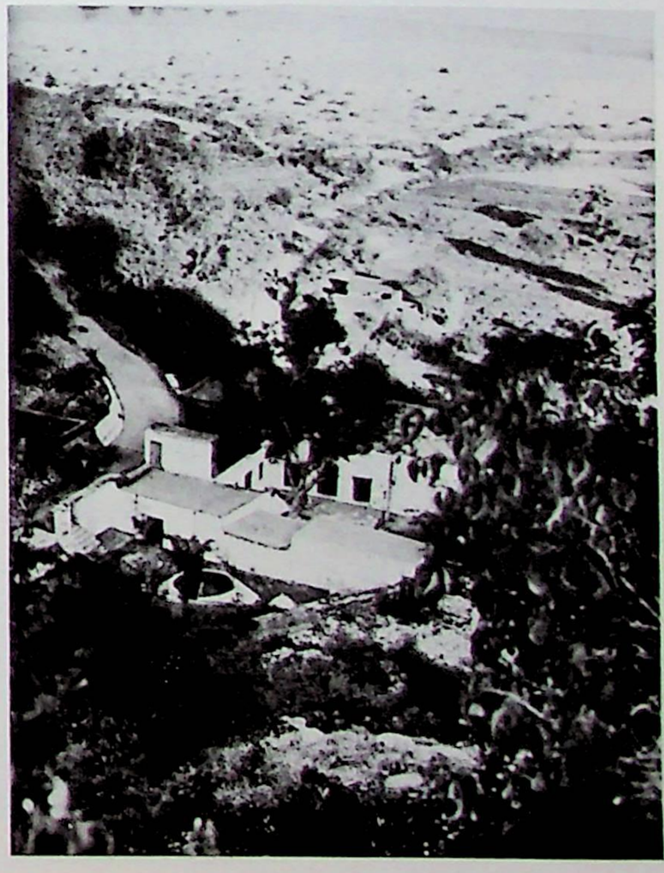


Fig. 45. Rām-jī-kā-*mandir*, Jammu

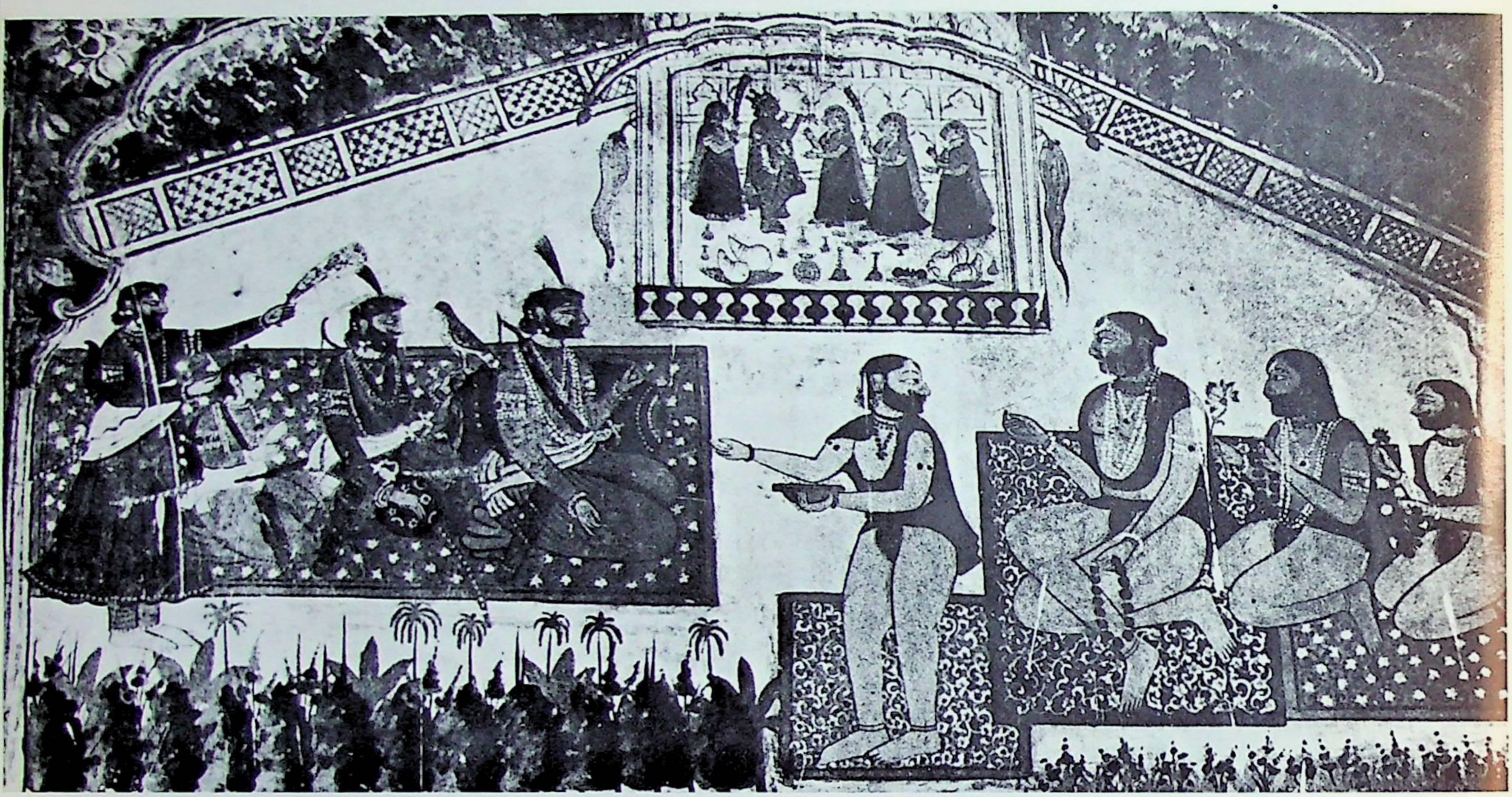


Fig. 46. The Dogra brothers before a *sādhu*. Rām-jī-kā-*mandir*, Jammu



Fig. 47. Sudamā in Kṛṣṇa's palace. Rām-jī-kā-*mandir*, Jammu



Fig. 48. Kṛṣṇa as a farmer. Rām-jī-kā-*mandir*, Jammu

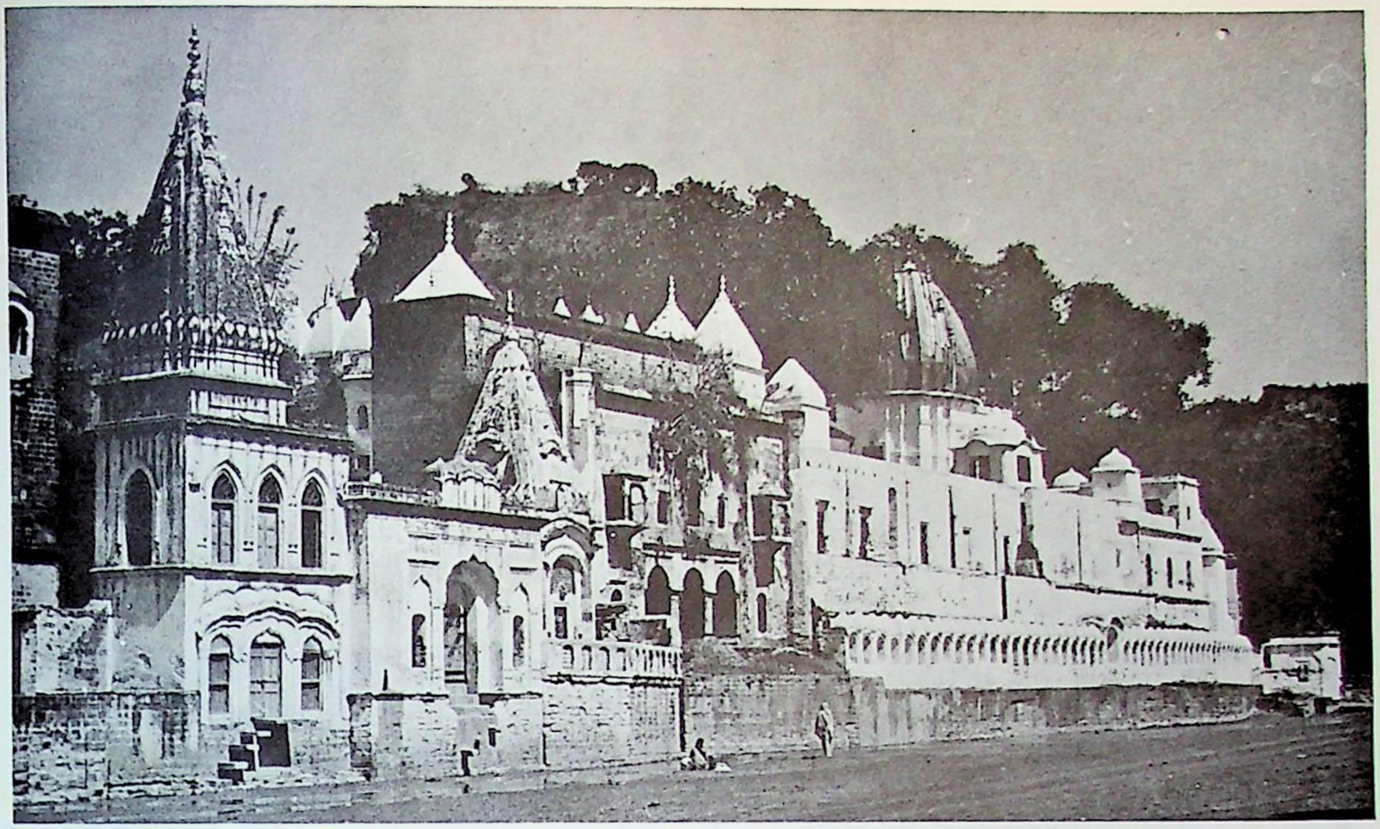


Fig. 49. The temple city of Purmandal



Fig. 50. The images of Śiva and Pārvatī.
Kāsi Visvanāth temple, Purmandal



Fig. 51. Rādhā as a *māninī* (*nayikā*).
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Fig. 52. A *nāyikā*. Kāsi Visvanāth temple, Purmandal



Fig. 53. Nanda with Kṛṣṇa and Balrāma. Kāsi Visvanāth temple, Purmandal

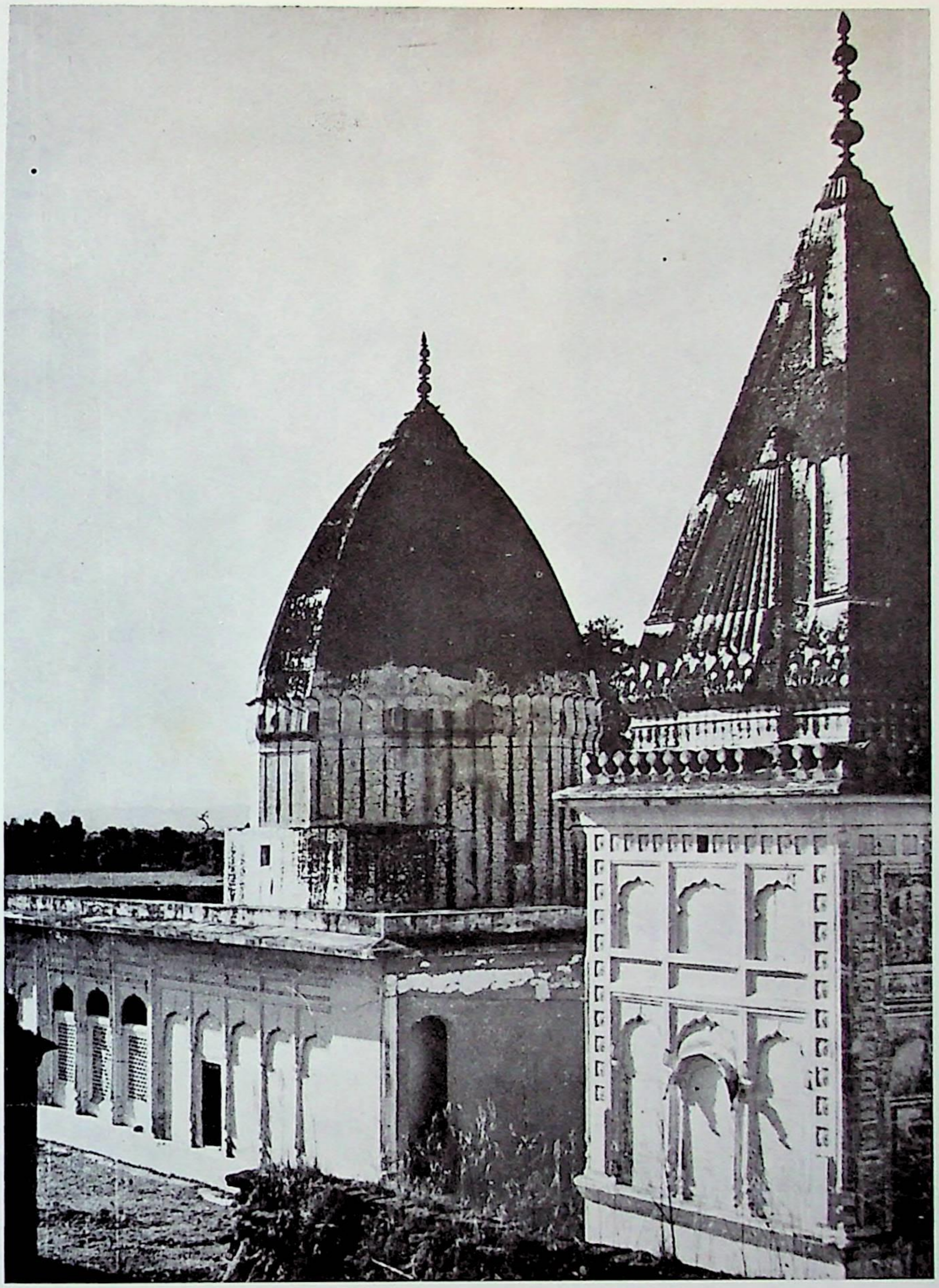


Fig. 54. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal



Fig. 55. Śiva with Pārvatī. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal



Fig. 56. Mahiṣamardinī Devī. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal



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Fig. 58. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal

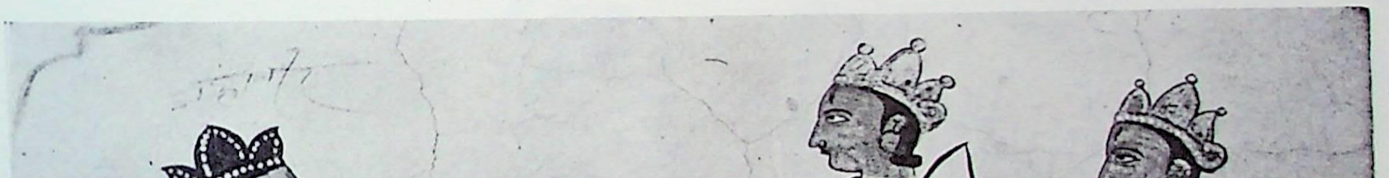


Fig. 59. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumāna. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal



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ṛṣī Visvamitra.
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Fig. 65. Mahiṣamardinī Devī.
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Fig. 66. Śiva and Pārvatī. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Purmandal

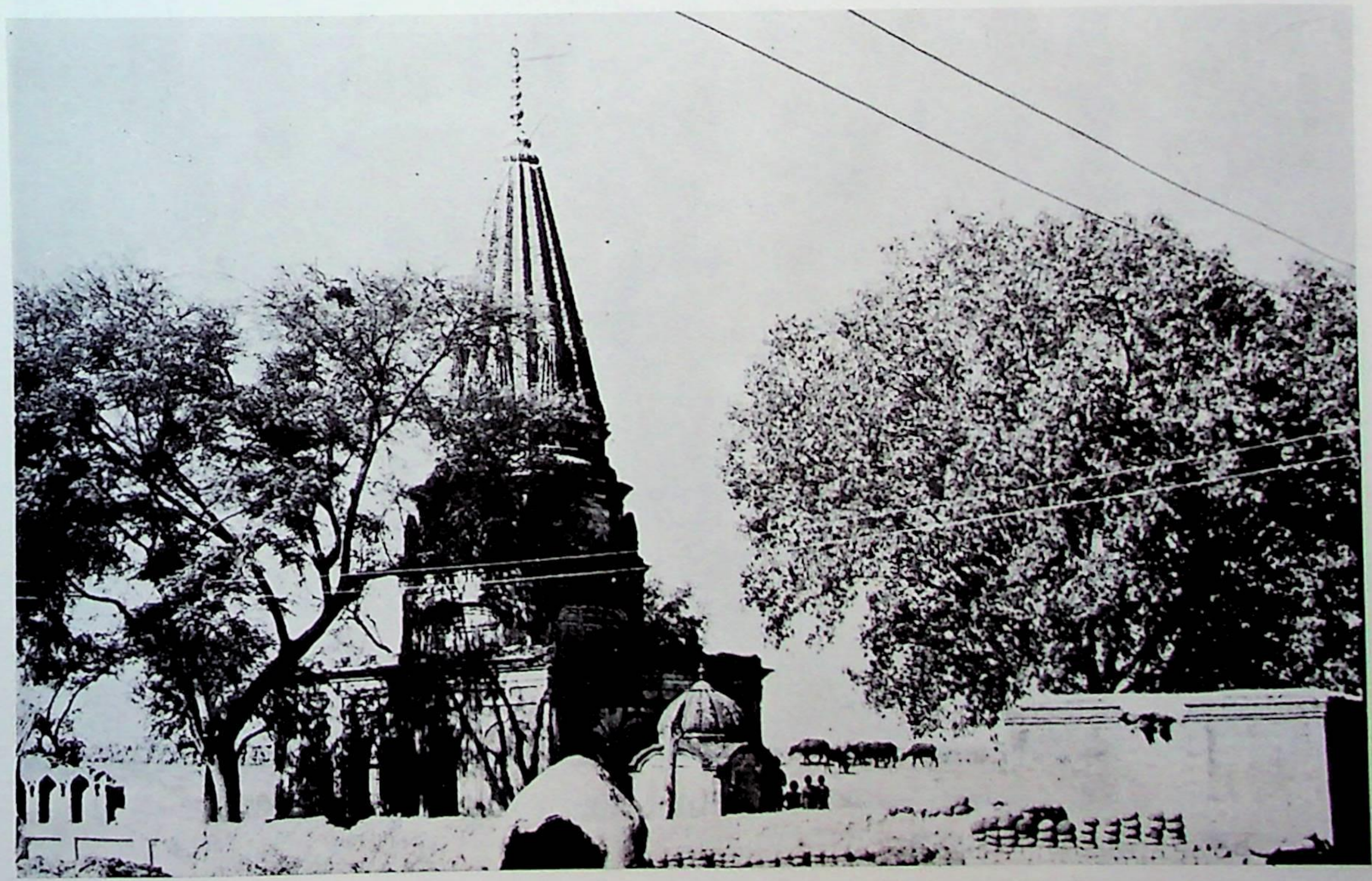


Fig. 67. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Mule Chak

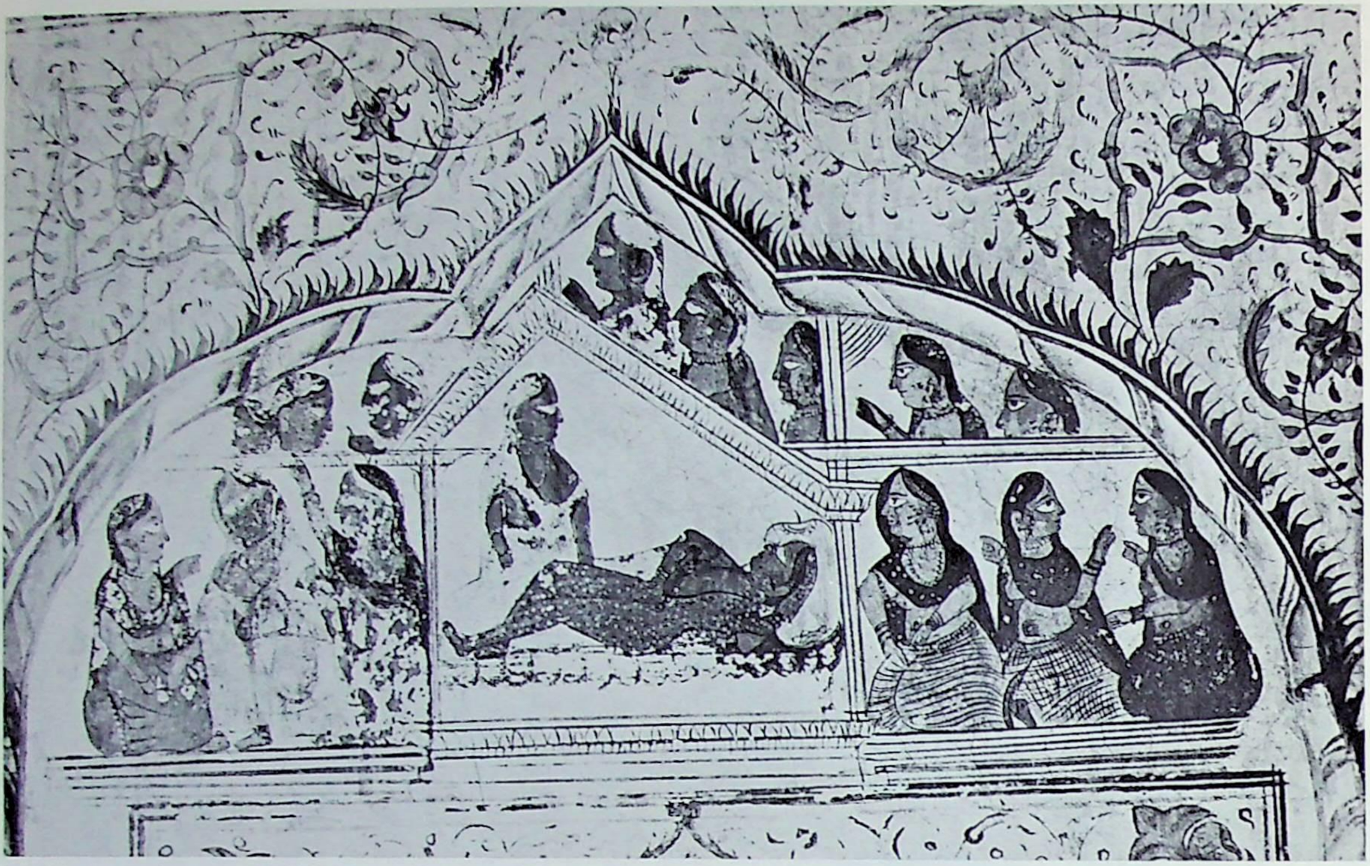


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Fig. 71. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu



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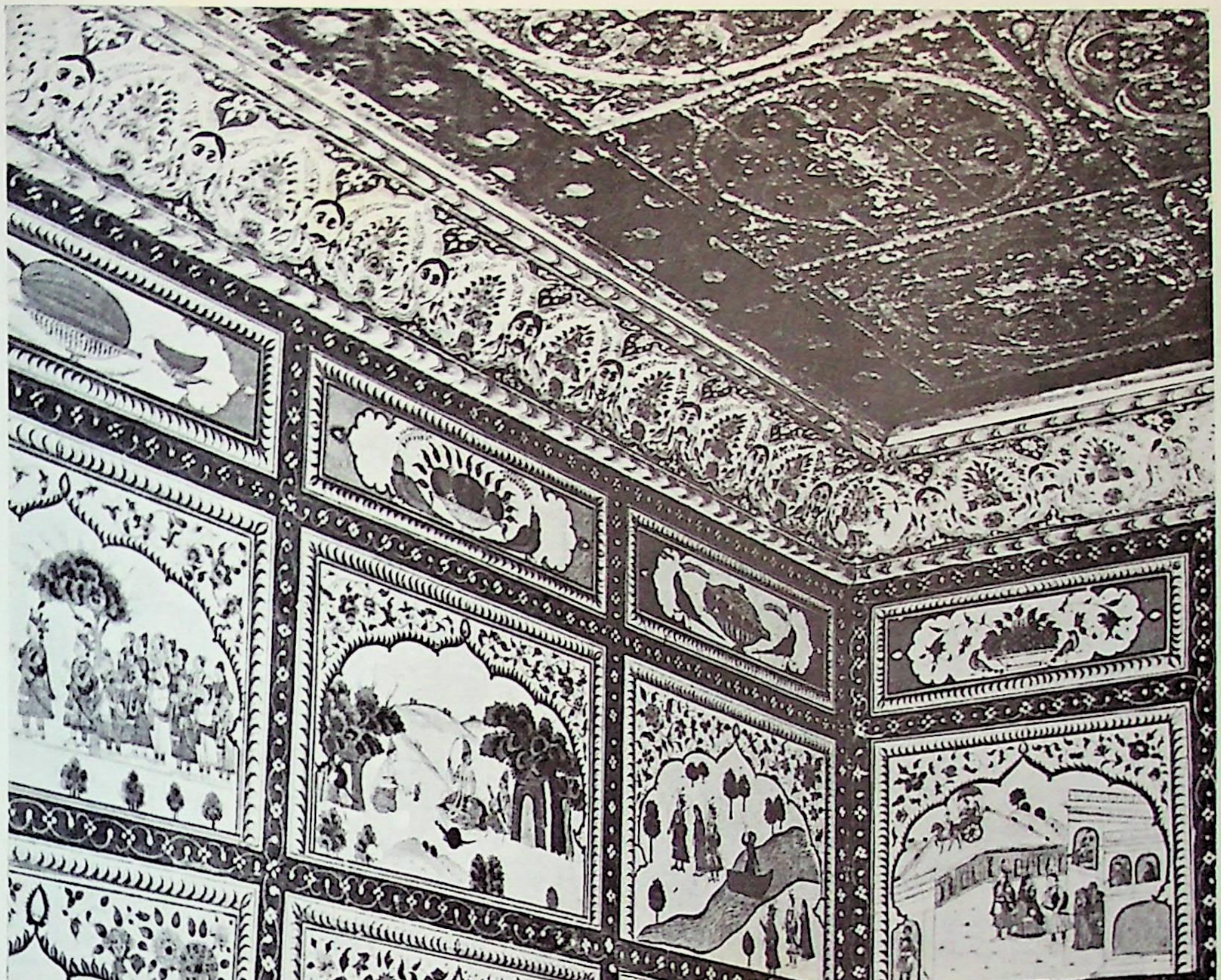


Fig. 73. The painted walls of *Mahānta Jī's baithak*. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu

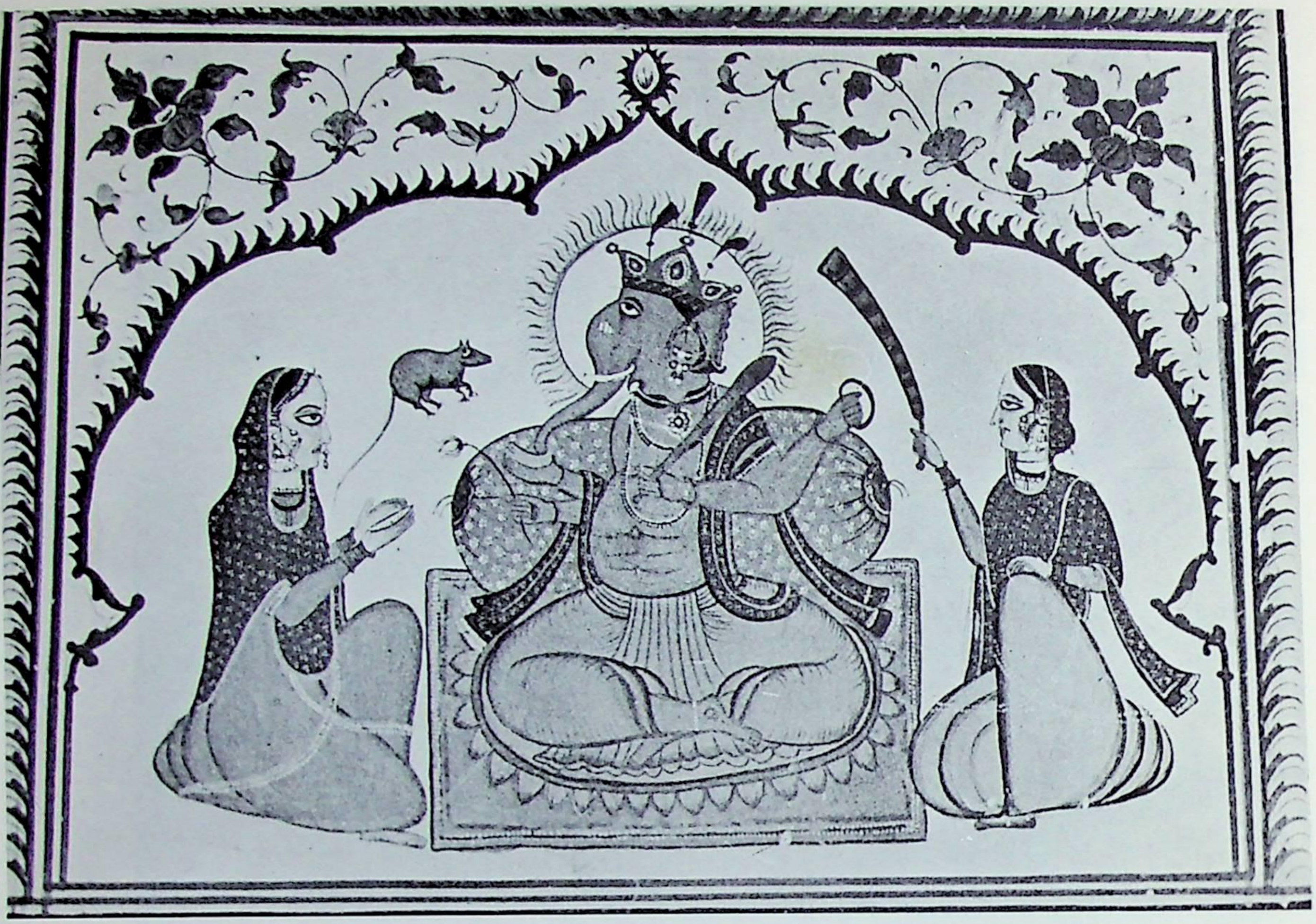


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Fig. 79. Lakṣmaṇa's wounds being treated. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu



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Fig. 82. Kumbhakarṇa crushing the *vānar senā*. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu



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Fig. 85. Sugrīva approaching Rāma for help against Bāli. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Fig. 86. Rāvaṇa fighting Jaṭāyu. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu



Fig. 84. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa killing Kumbhakarṇa.
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Fig. 85. Sugrīva approaching Rāma for help against Bāli. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Jammu



Fig. 86. Rāvaṇa fighting Jaṭāyu. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu



Fig. 87. Hanumāna in Rāvaṇa's palace in Lanka. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Purani Mandi, Jammu

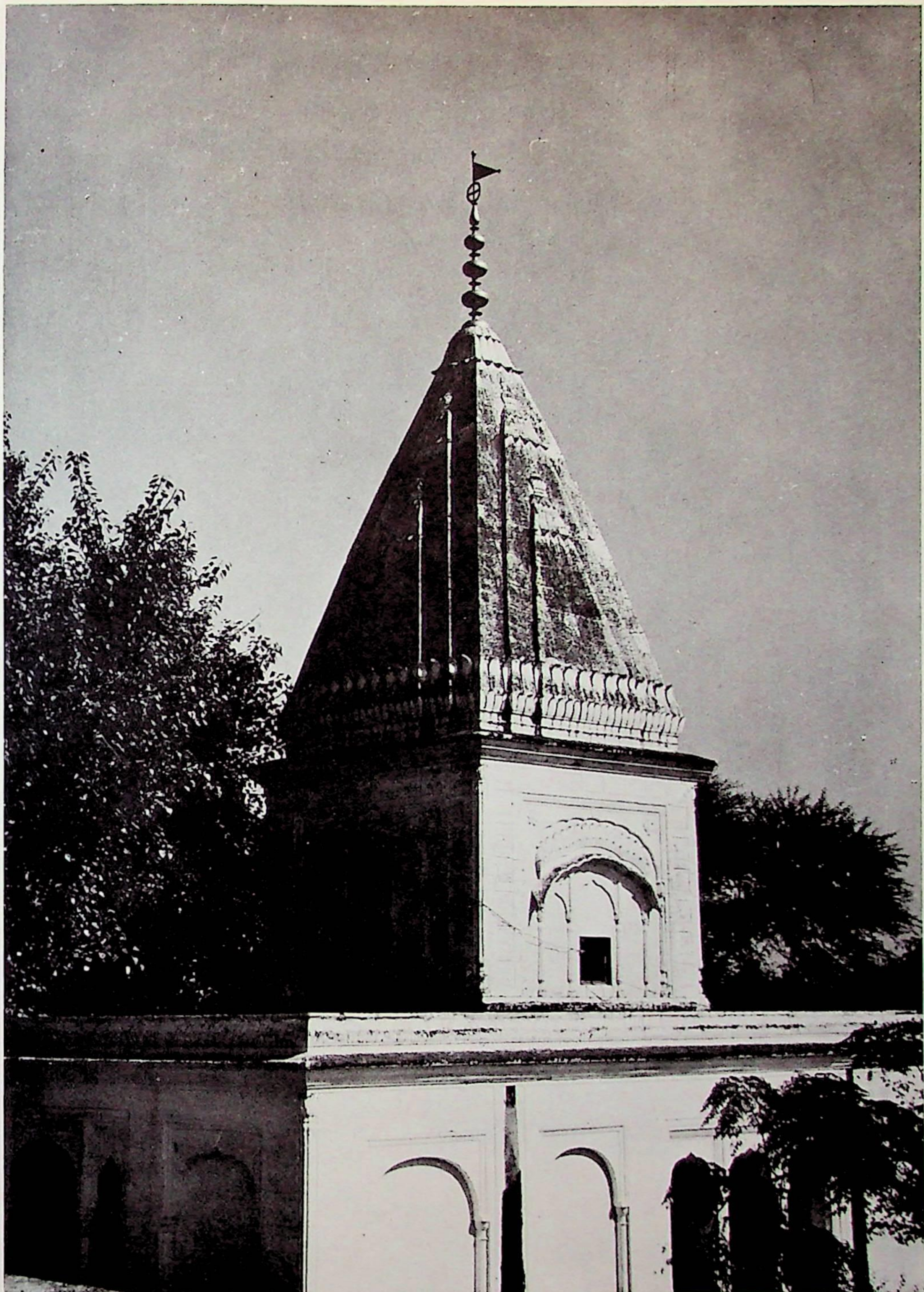


Fig. 88. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 89. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 90. Kṛṣṇa with two *gopīs*. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 89. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 90. Kṛṣṇa with two *gopīs*. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 91. *Varāha avatāra*. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib



Fig. 92. Rāma's *darbār*. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Miran Sahib

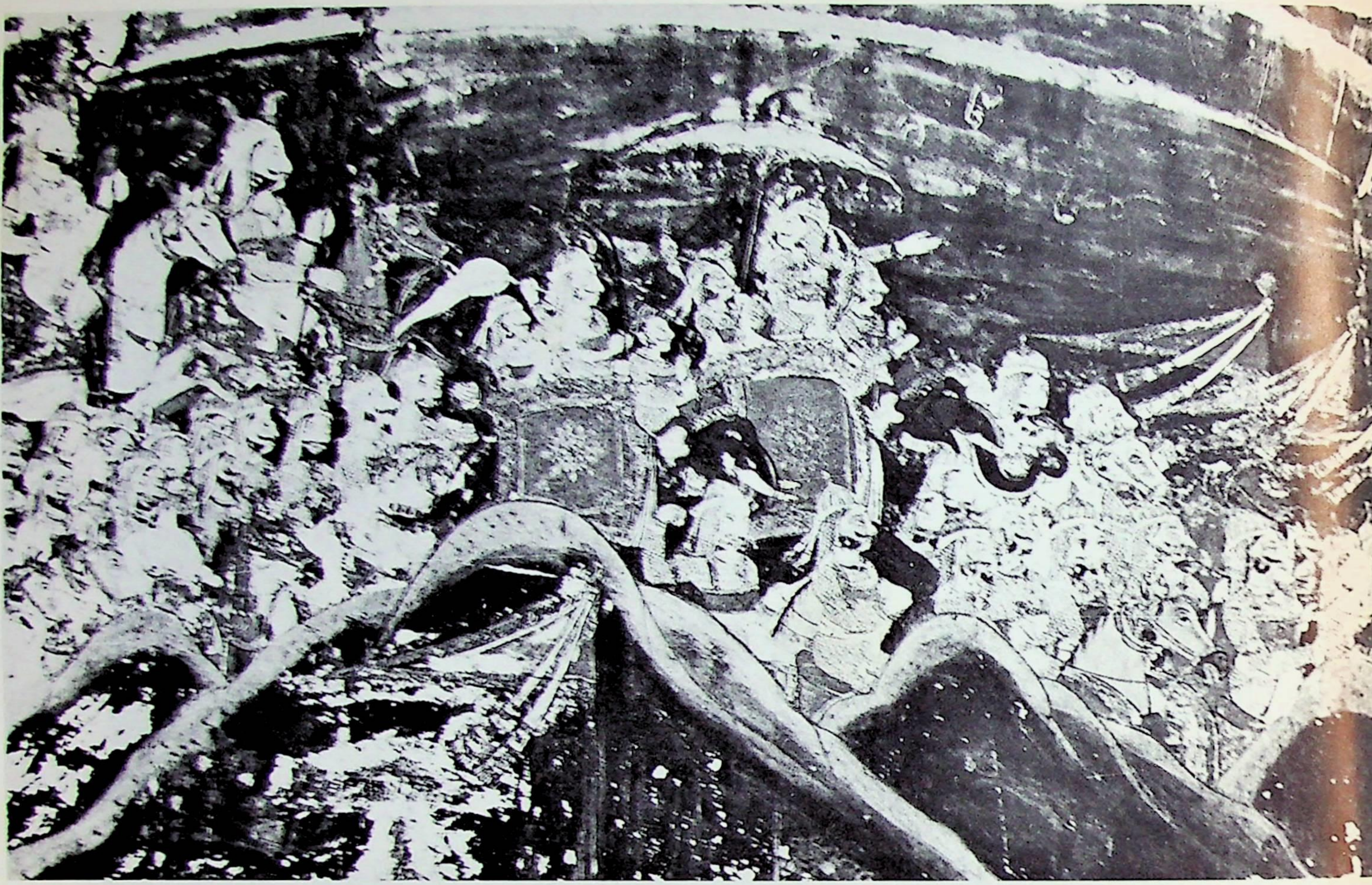


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Fig. 95. Princesses watching Sītā's *svayaṁvara*. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall

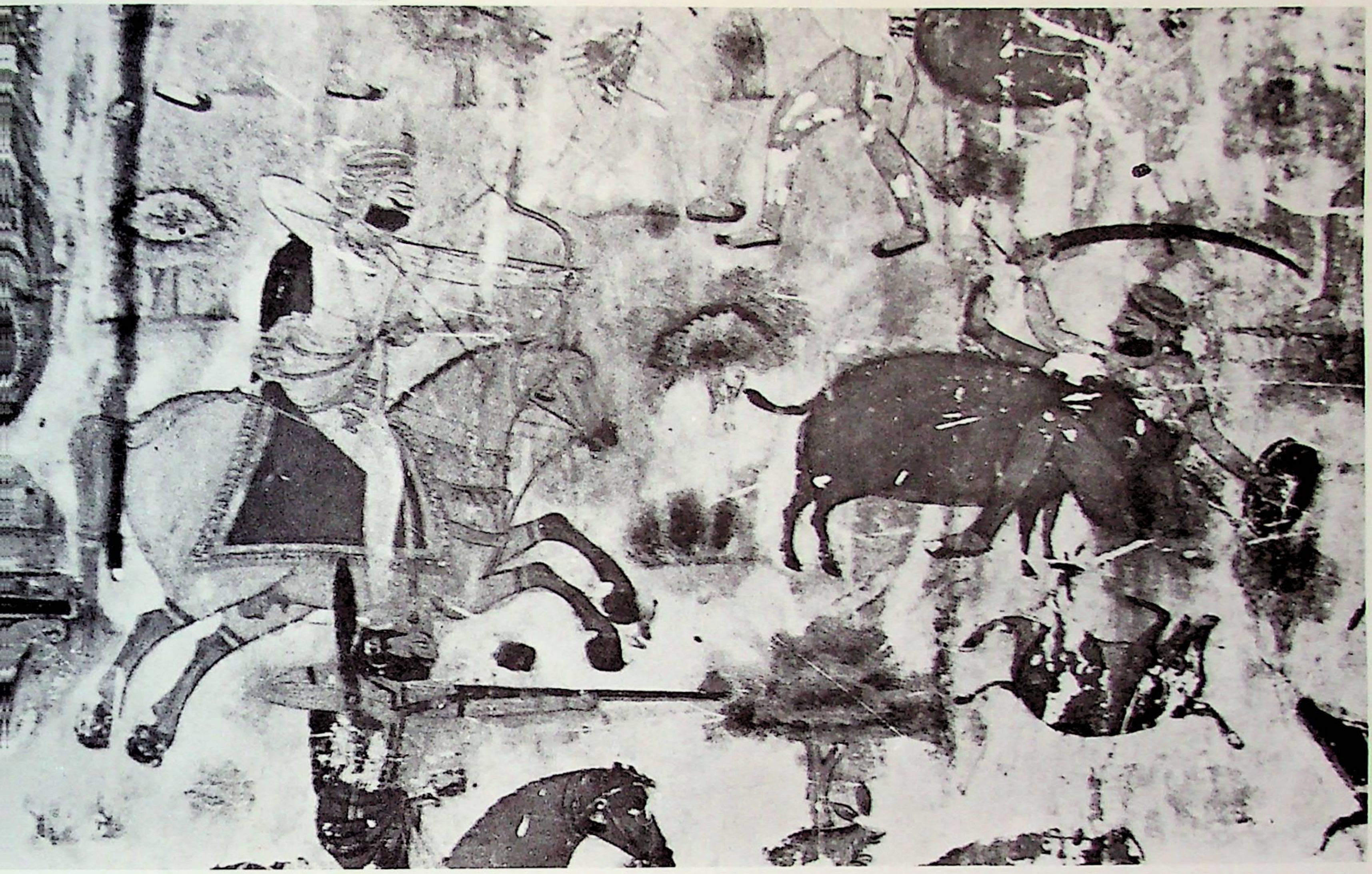


Fig. 96. Suchet Singh and his friends hunting. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall

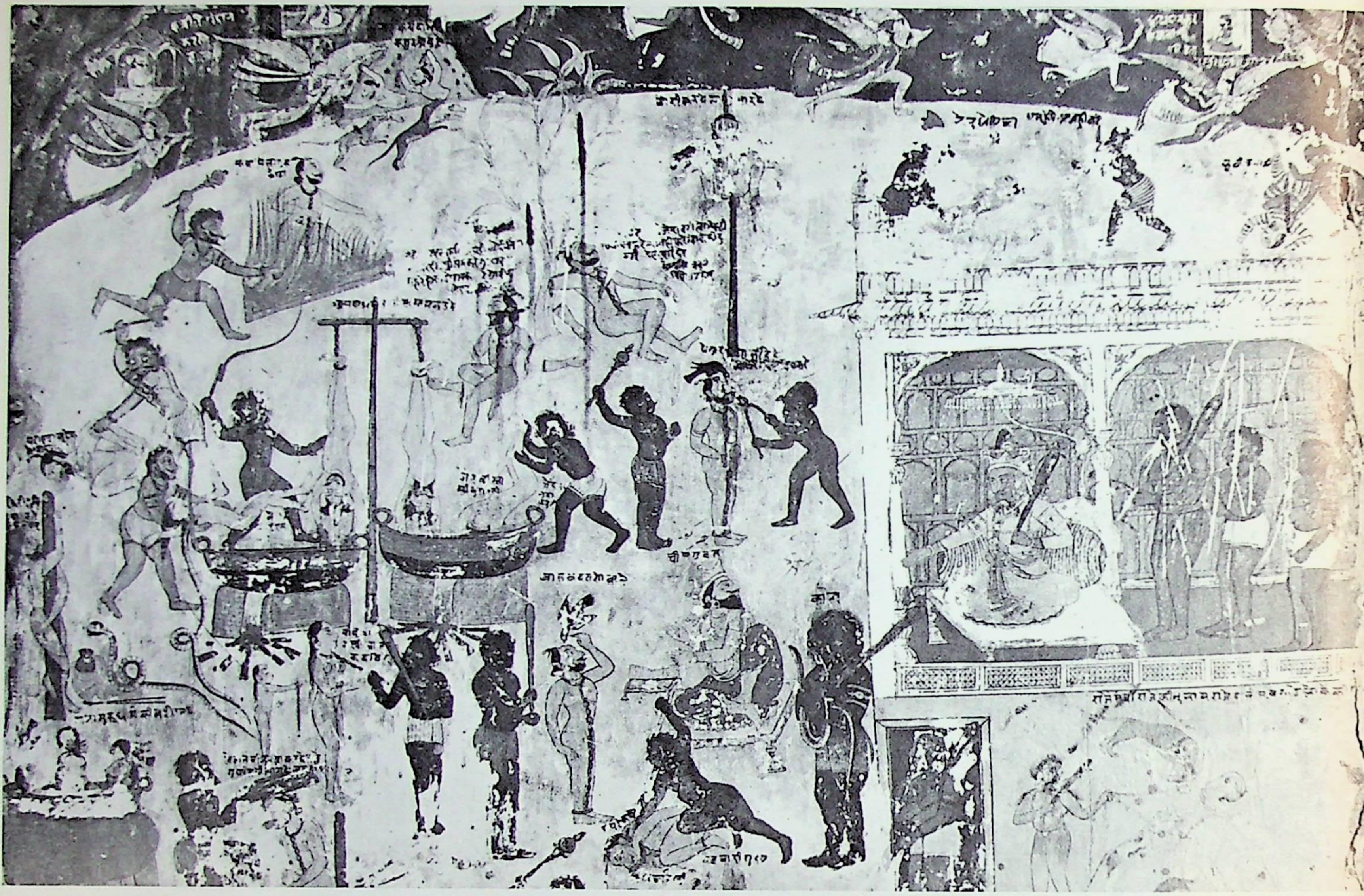


Fig. 97. Yama directing tortures in hell. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall

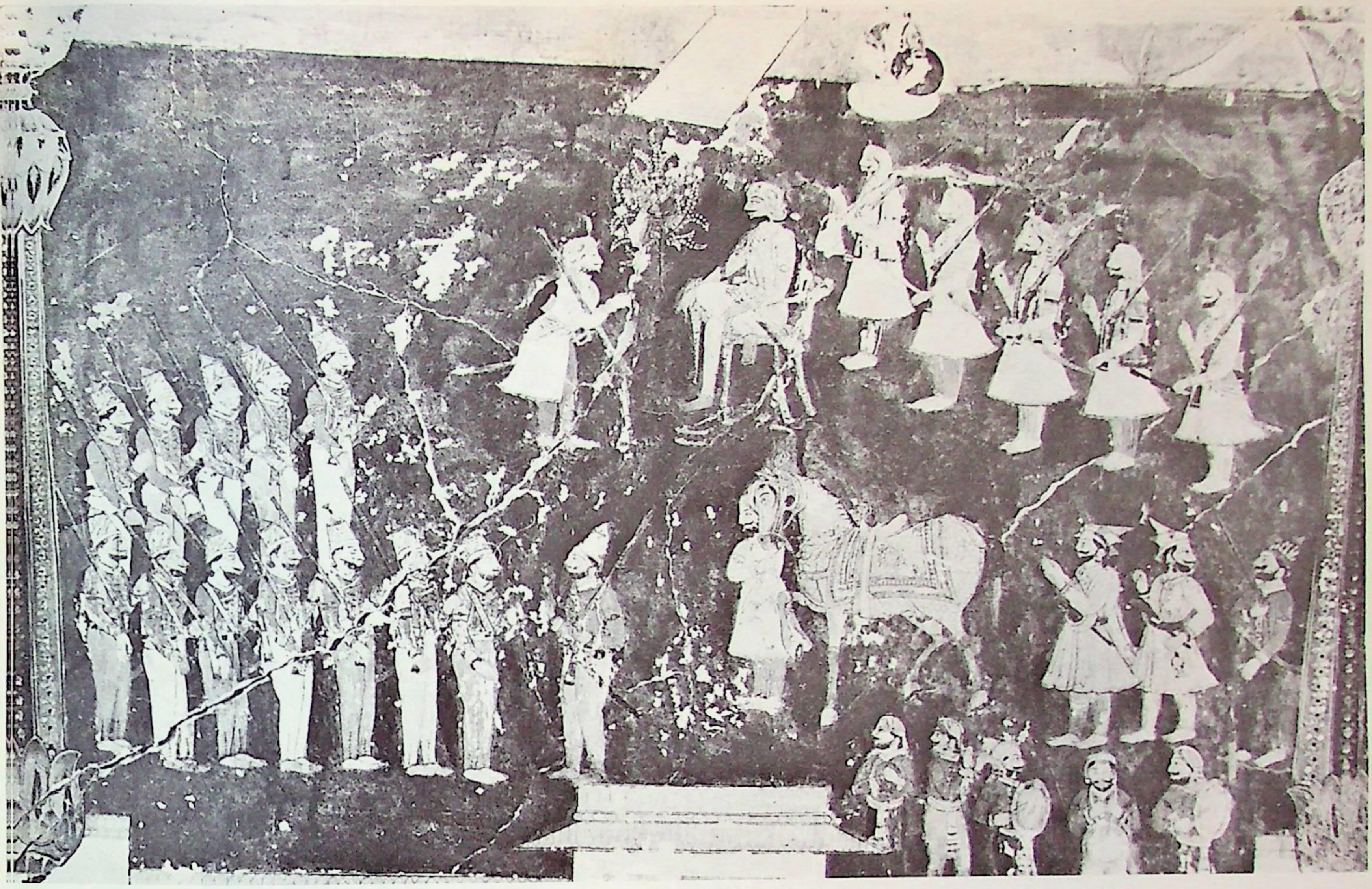


Fig. 98. Suchet Singh in *darbār*. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall



Fig. 99. Yaśodā and Balakṛṣṇa. Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall



Fig. 100. A prince fighting a tiger. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 101. A *rāṇī* smoking a hookah. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 102. A battle scene. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 103. A battle scene. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom

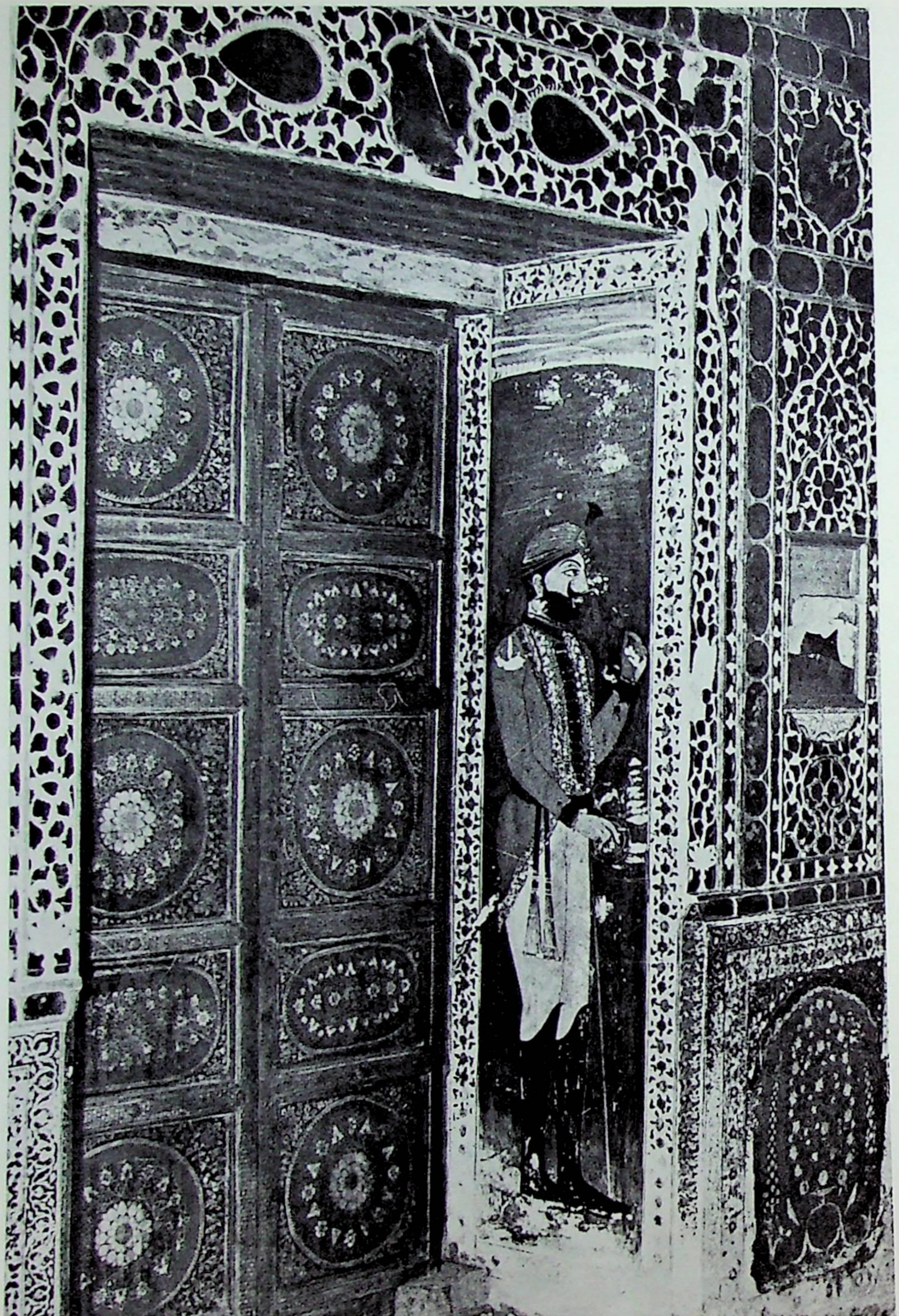


Fig. 104. A soldier. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 105. Painted walls. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 106. A *nāyikā*. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom



Fig. 107. Painted walls of the *Mahānta's baithak*. Śaiva Math, Manesar

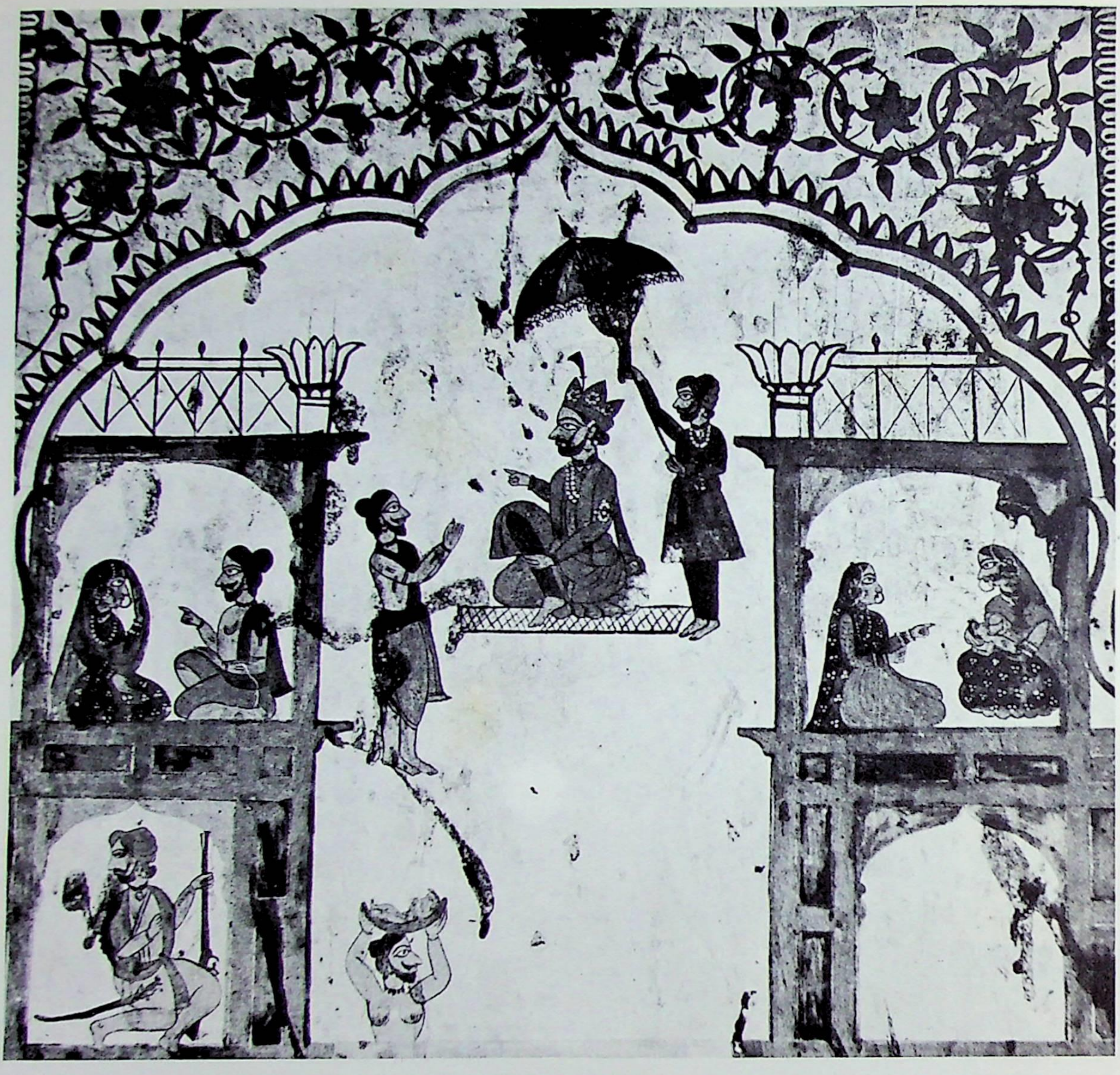


Fig. 108. Women in a palace. Śaiva Math, Manesar



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Fig. 111. Female angel with a peacock. Śaiva Math, Manesar

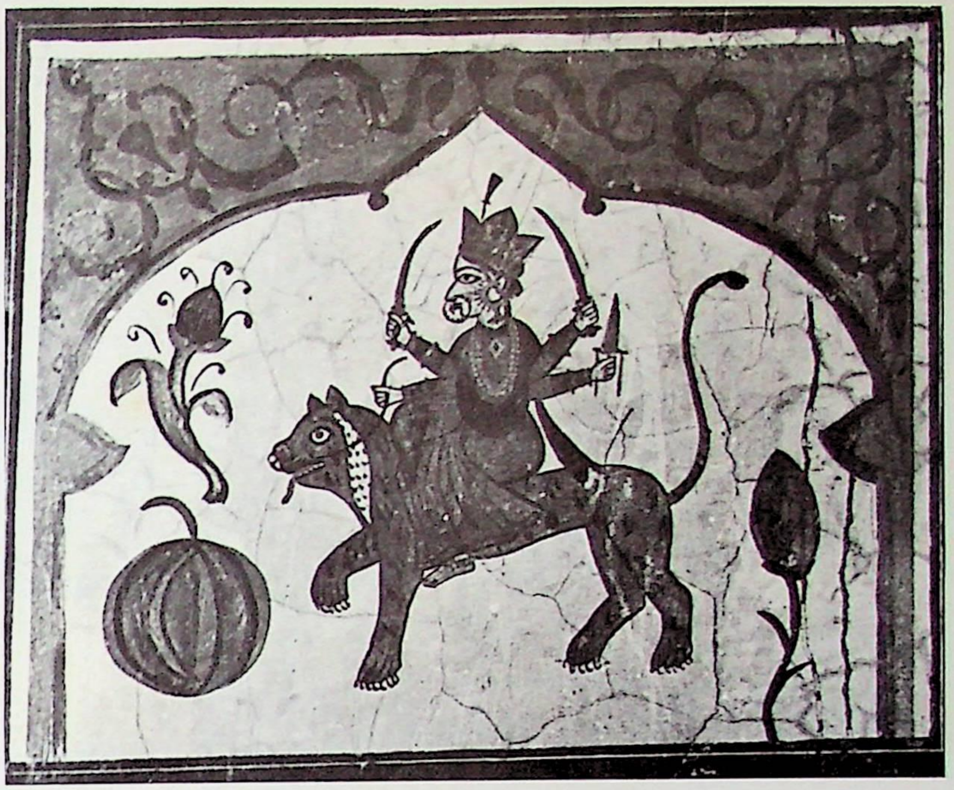


Fig. 112. Mahiṣamardinī Devī. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 113. Sarasvatī. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 114. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa setting out to do battle with Rāvaṇa's armies. Śaiva Math, Manesar

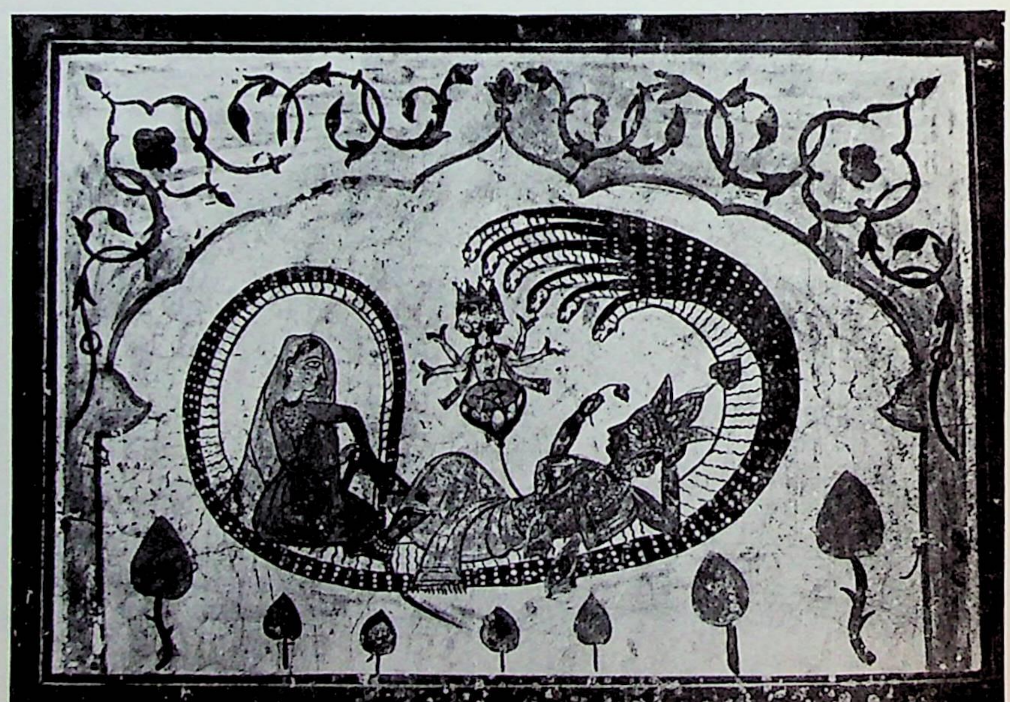


Fig. 115. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 116. Rāma bathing prior to his anointment. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 117. A *nāyikā*. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 118. A *nāyak*. Śaiva Math, Manesar



Fig. 119. Two women. Rādhākṛṣṇa temple, Reasi



Fig. 120. Viṣṇu in his *mohinī-rūp* distributing amṛt

Fig. 121. Detail from Fig. 17; Ahalyā





Fig. 122. Detail from Fig. 43; the three Dogra brothers



Fig. 123. Detail from Pl. XXI; two attendants sleeping near Yaśodā's bed

Fig. 124. Detail from Pl. XIX; Laila Majnun



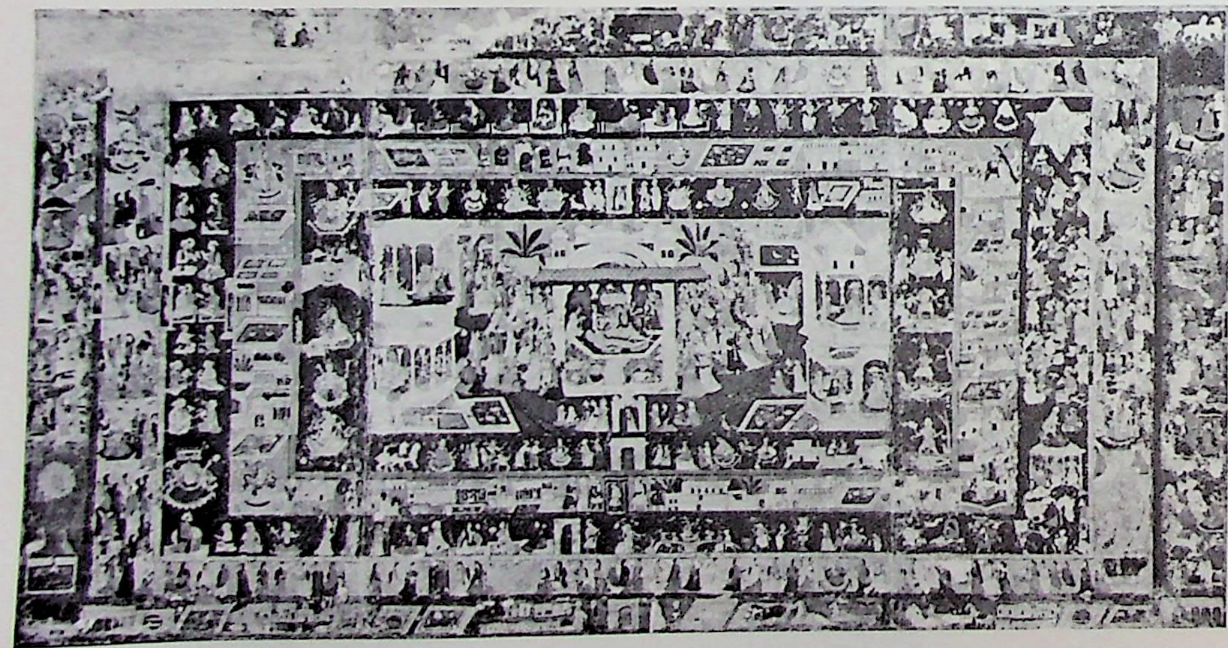


Fig. 125. Devī mural. Sultanpur, Kulu



Fig. 126. Detail from Fig. 33; a portrait of Rāma



Fig. 127. Detail from Fig. 31; Kabīr's wife spinning

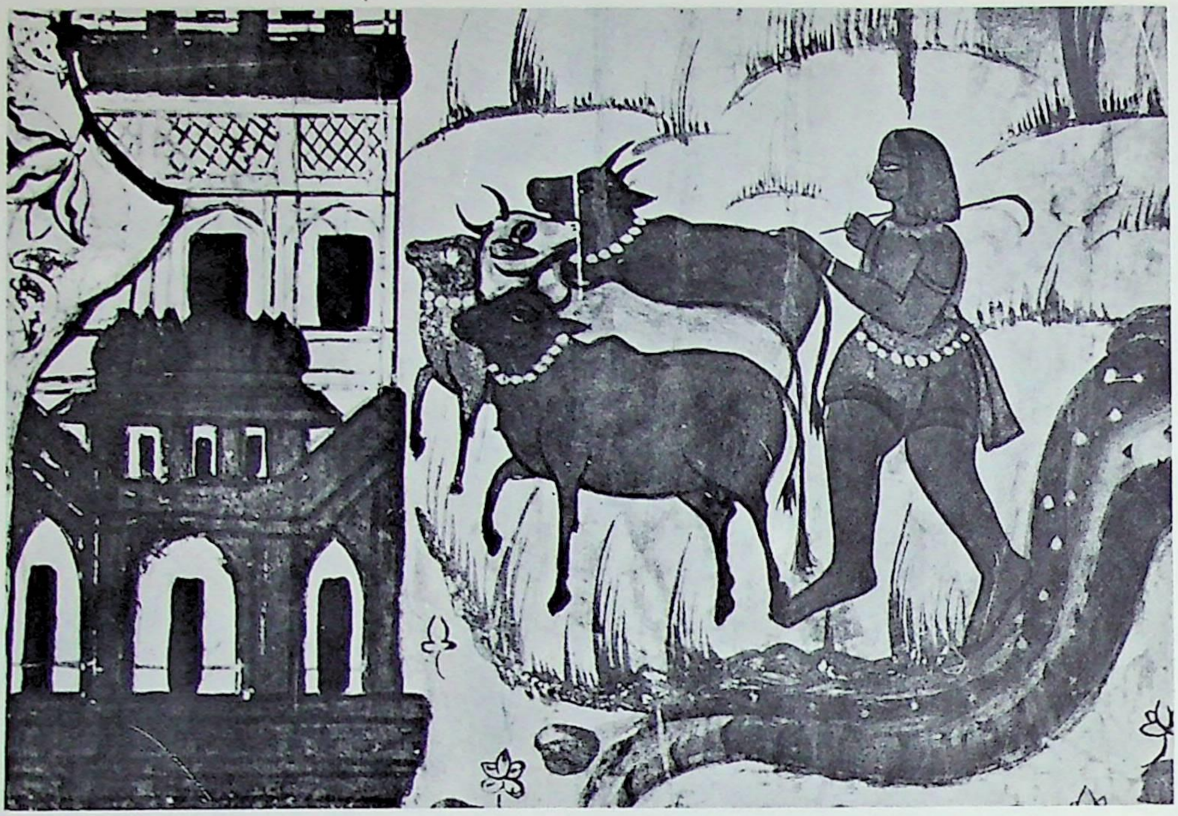


Fig. 128. Detail from Fig. 48; Kṛṣṇa



Fig. 129. Detail from Pl. XIV; Rāma's *darbār*—two musicians

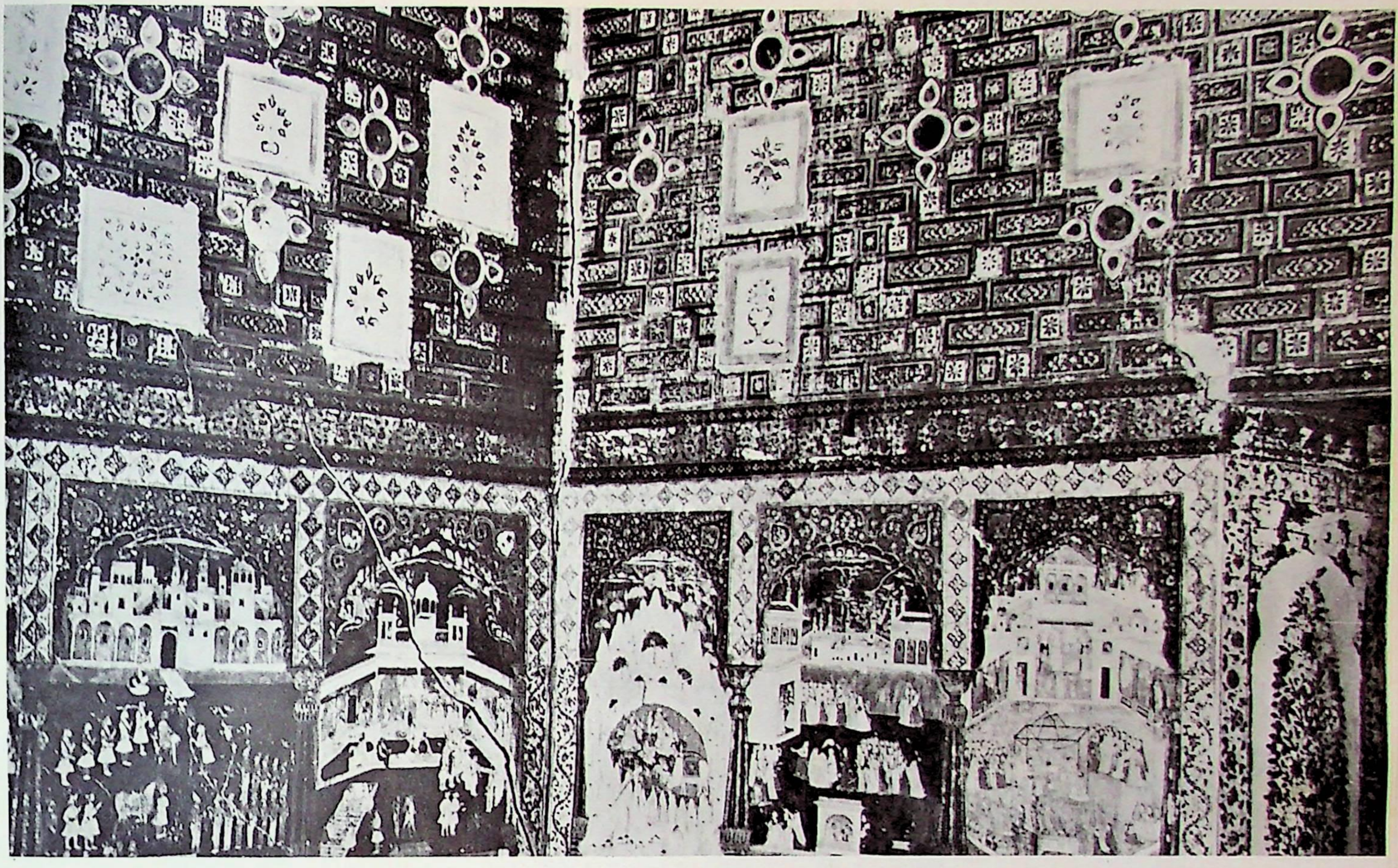


Fig. 130. Designs painted on the walls of the Ramnagar Palace Darbar Hall

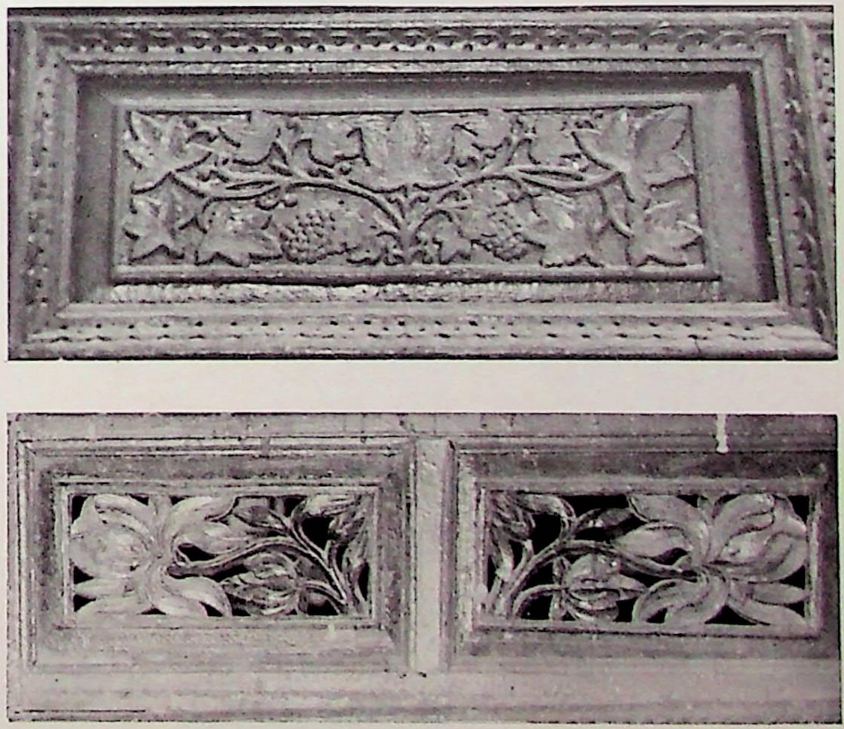


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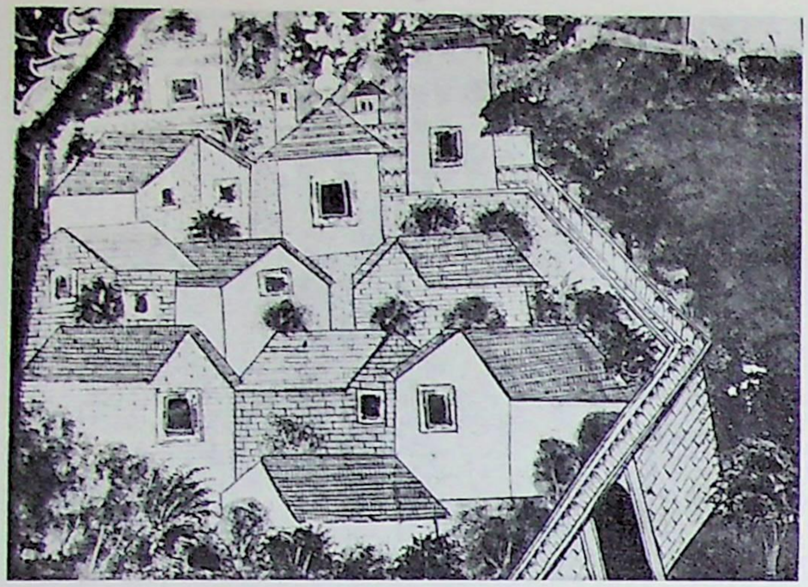


Fig. 132. A village scene from a painting of Rāma's armies. Ramnagar Palace, Suchet Singh's bedroom

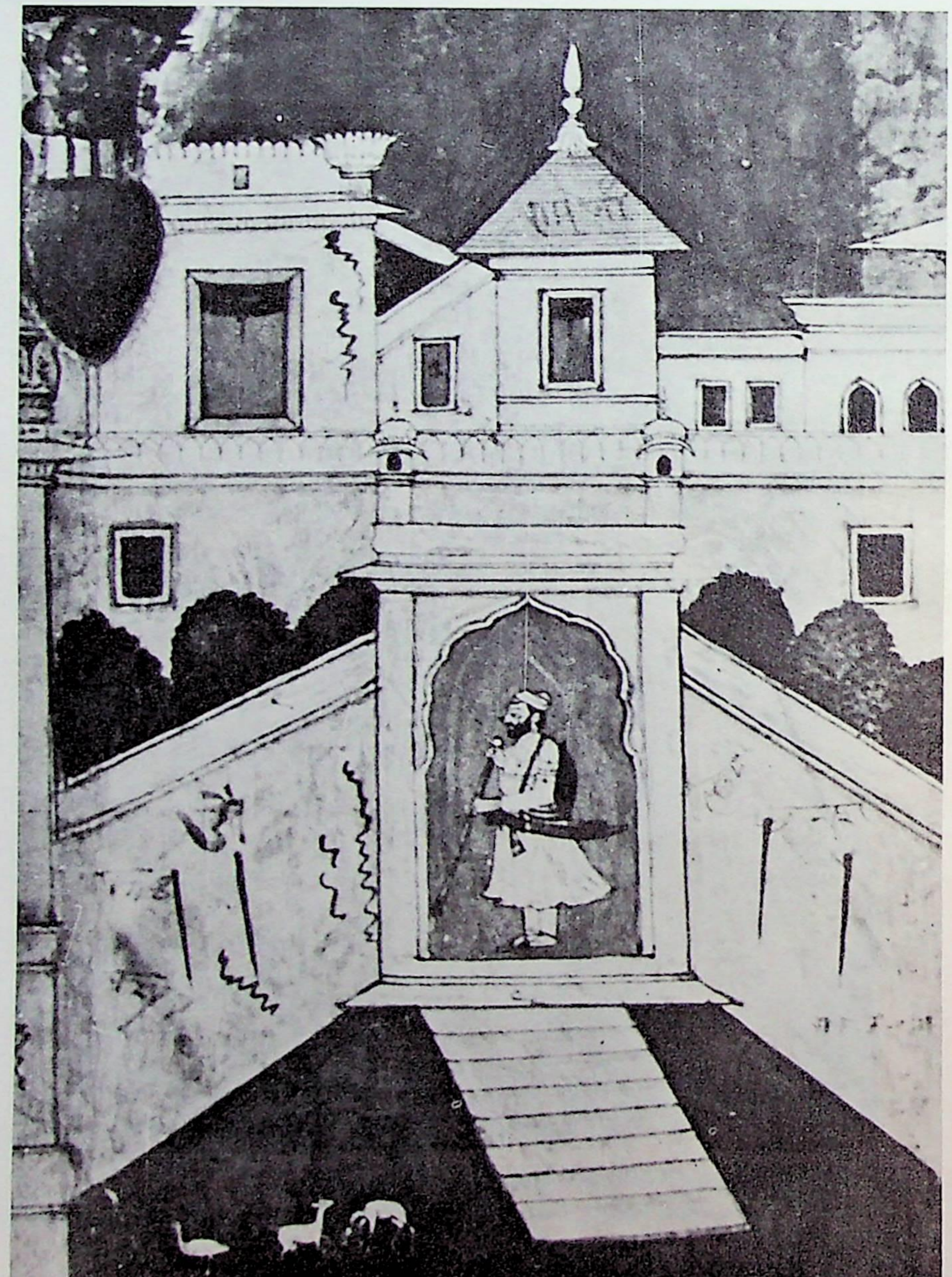


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Fig. 134. Kṛṣṇa with a stick. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Bhurj

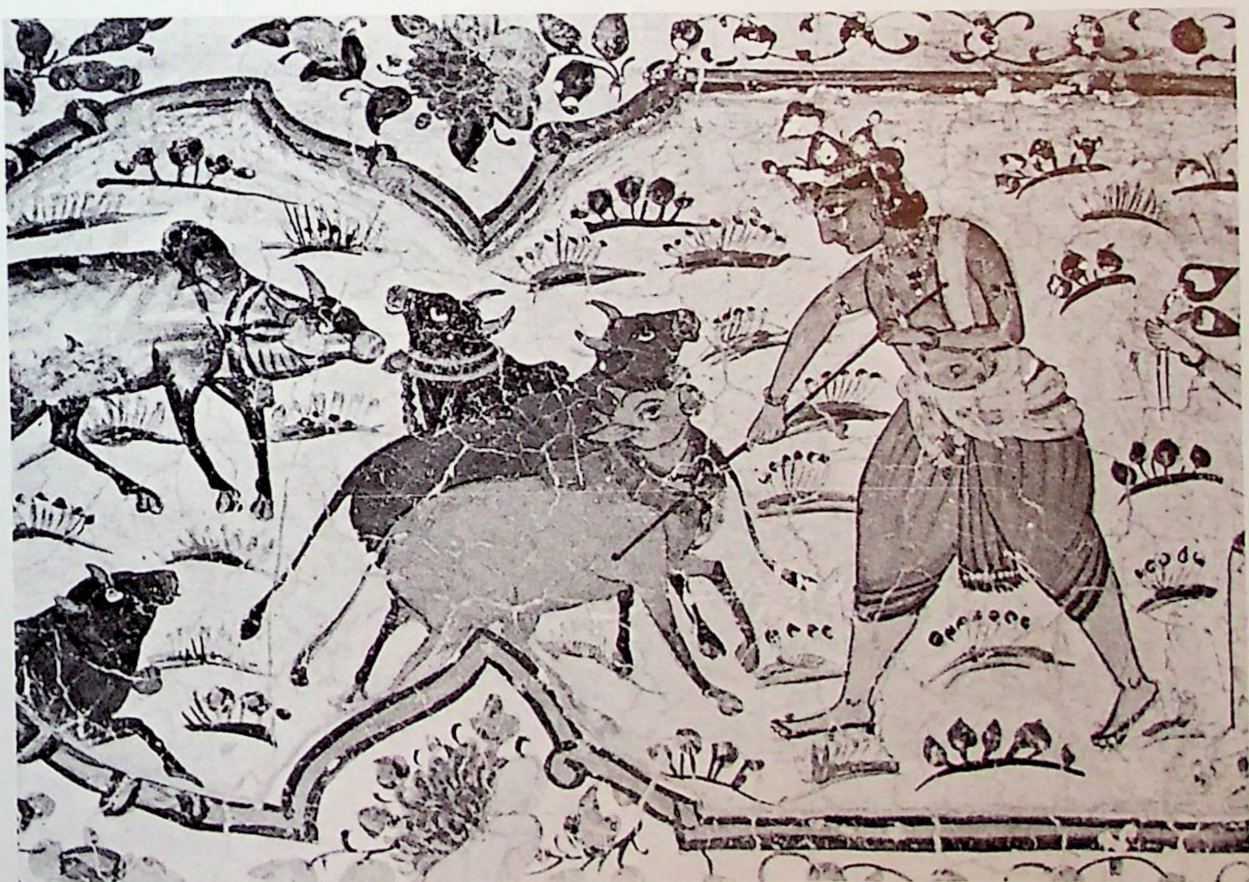


Fig. 135. Viṣṇu ploughing. Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Bhurj

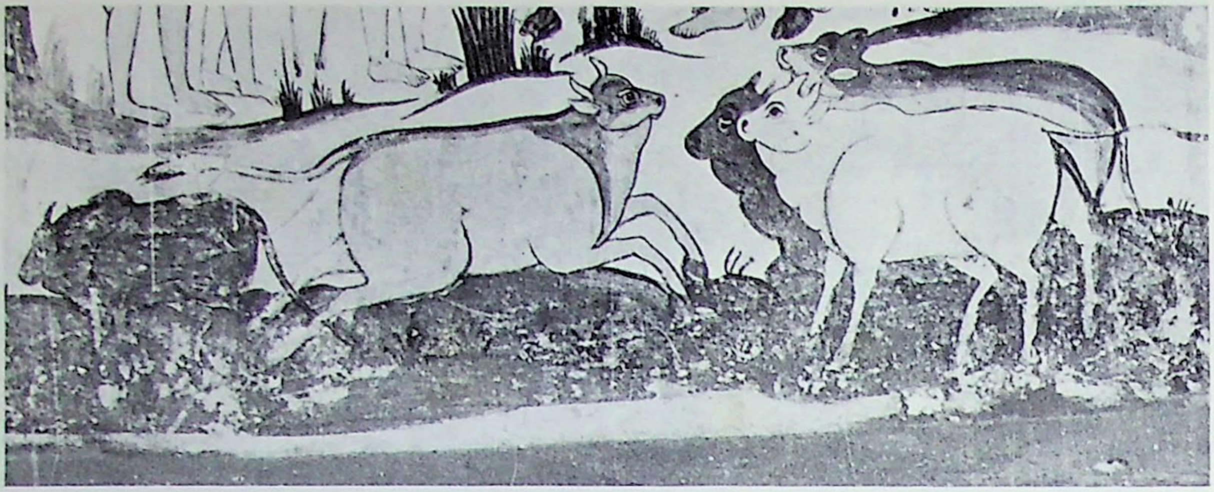


Fig. 136. Detail from Pl. I; cows—Raghunāth Jī *mandir*, Bhurj

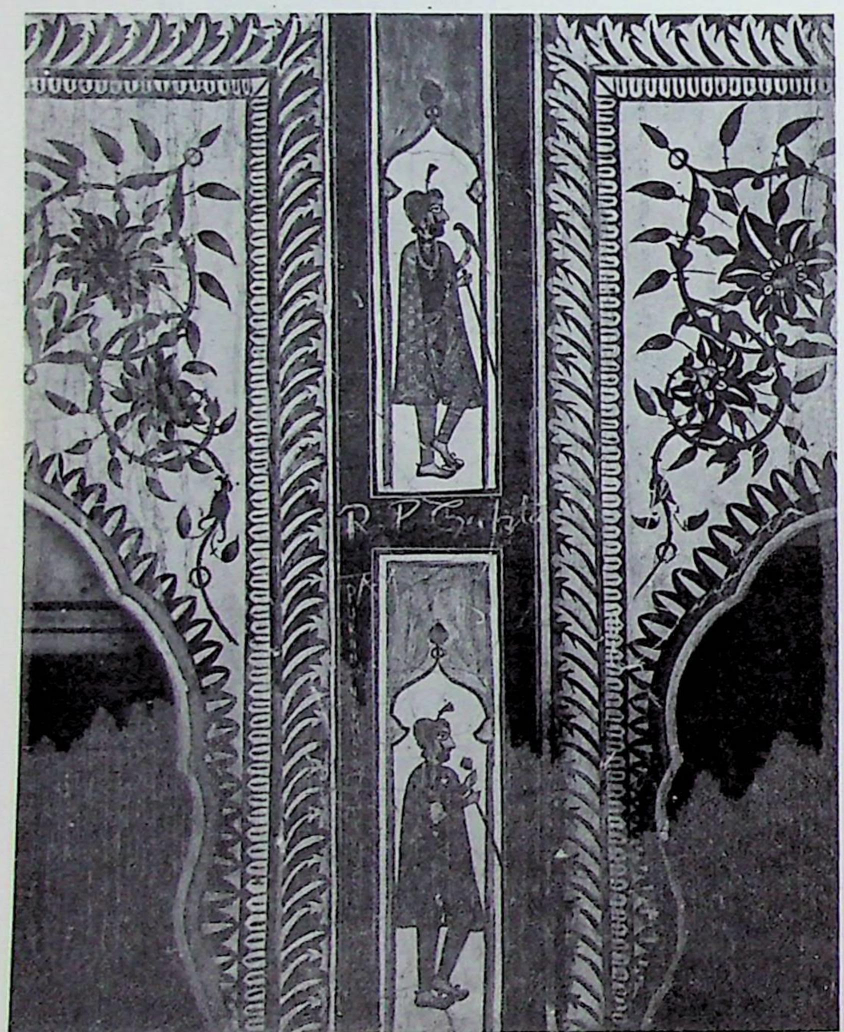


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Fig. 138. Detail from Fig. 76; guard in Daśaratha's Palace



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Fig. 141. Detail from Pl. I; cowherds



Fig. 142. Detail from Pl. XLIII; Suchet Singh's bedroom, Ramnagar

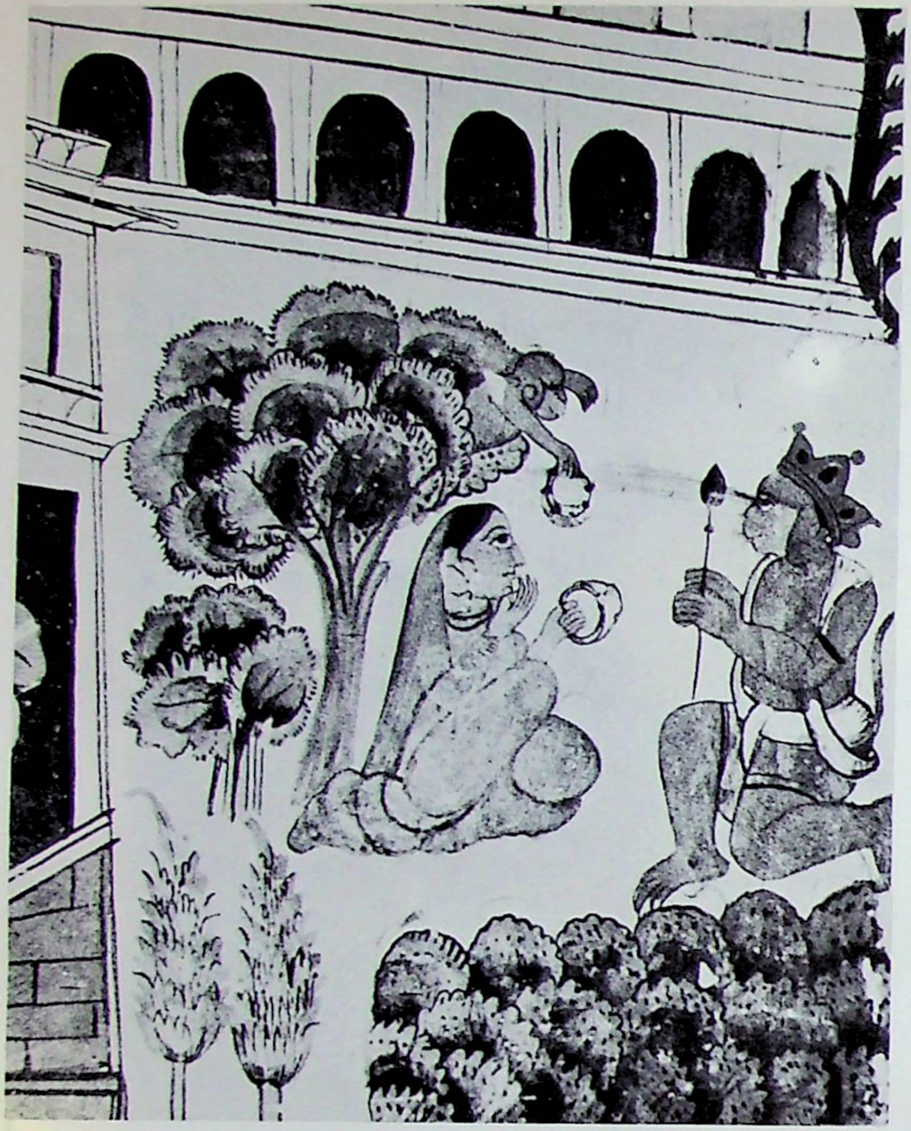


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Fig. 149. A *nāyikā*—painting on wooden screen. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu



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Fig. 151. Babar's army storming a fort. National Museum



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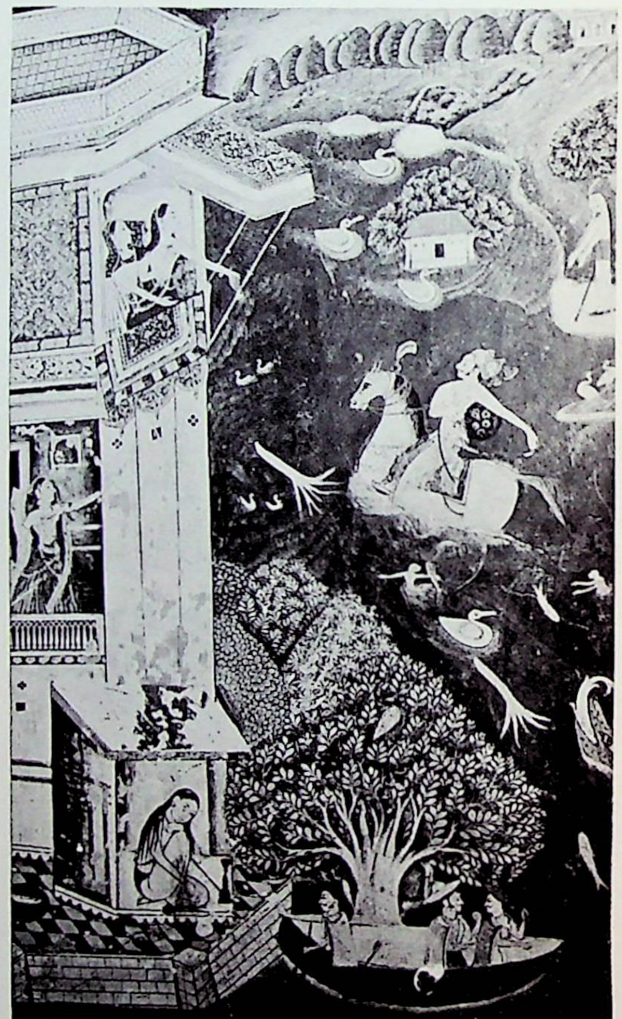


Fig. 153. A prince visiting a princess. Chitrashala Fort, Bundi

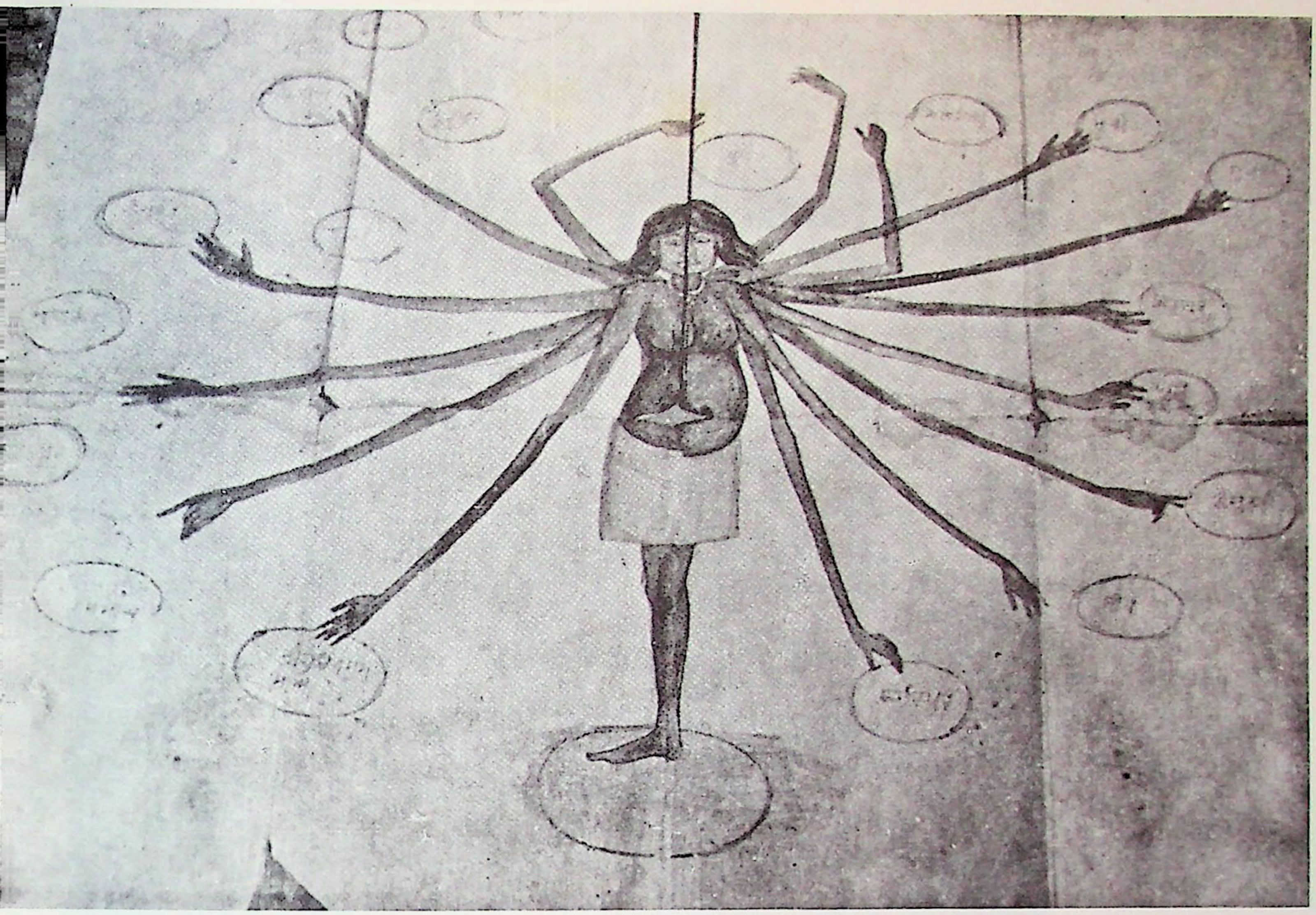


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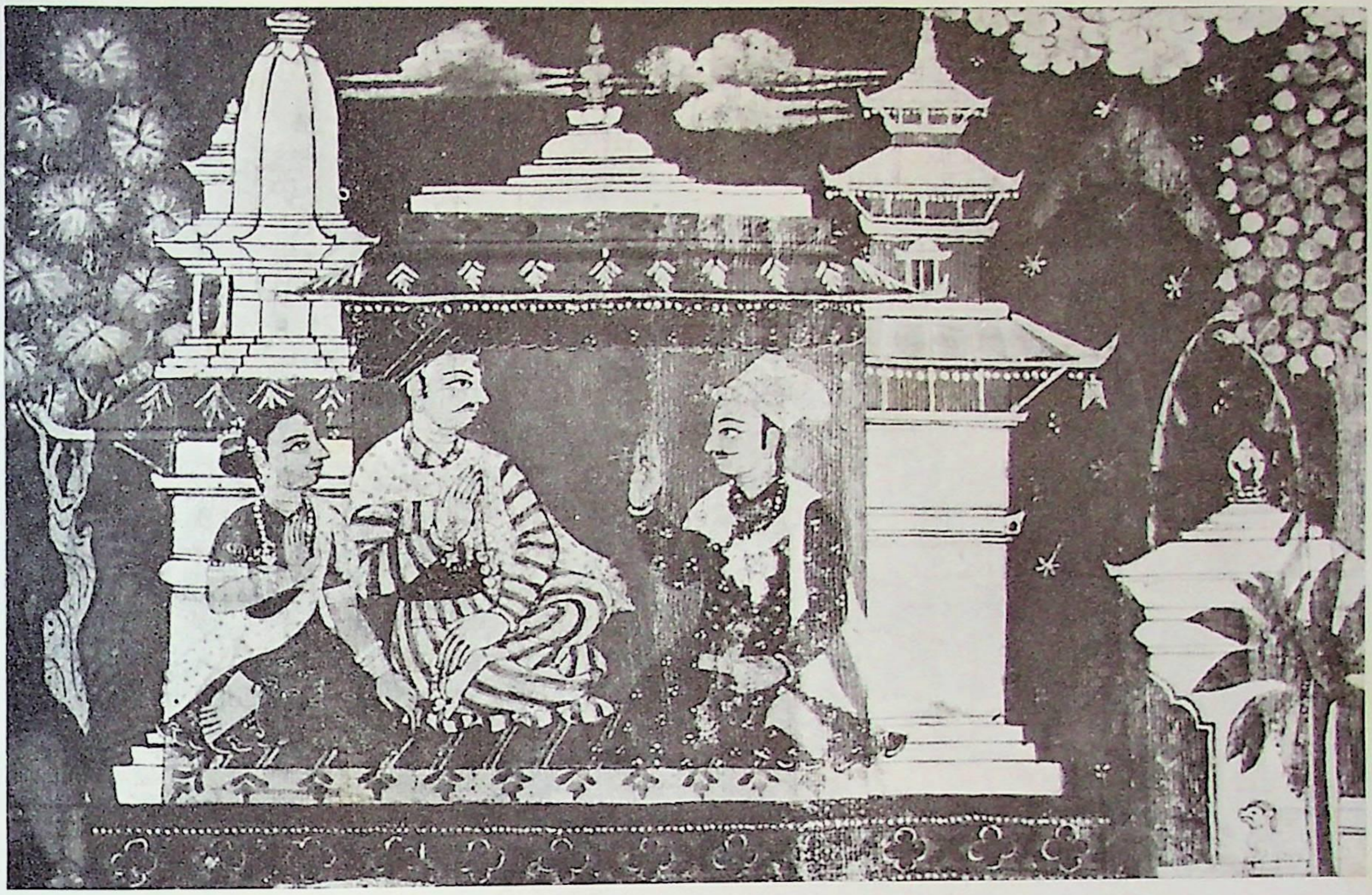


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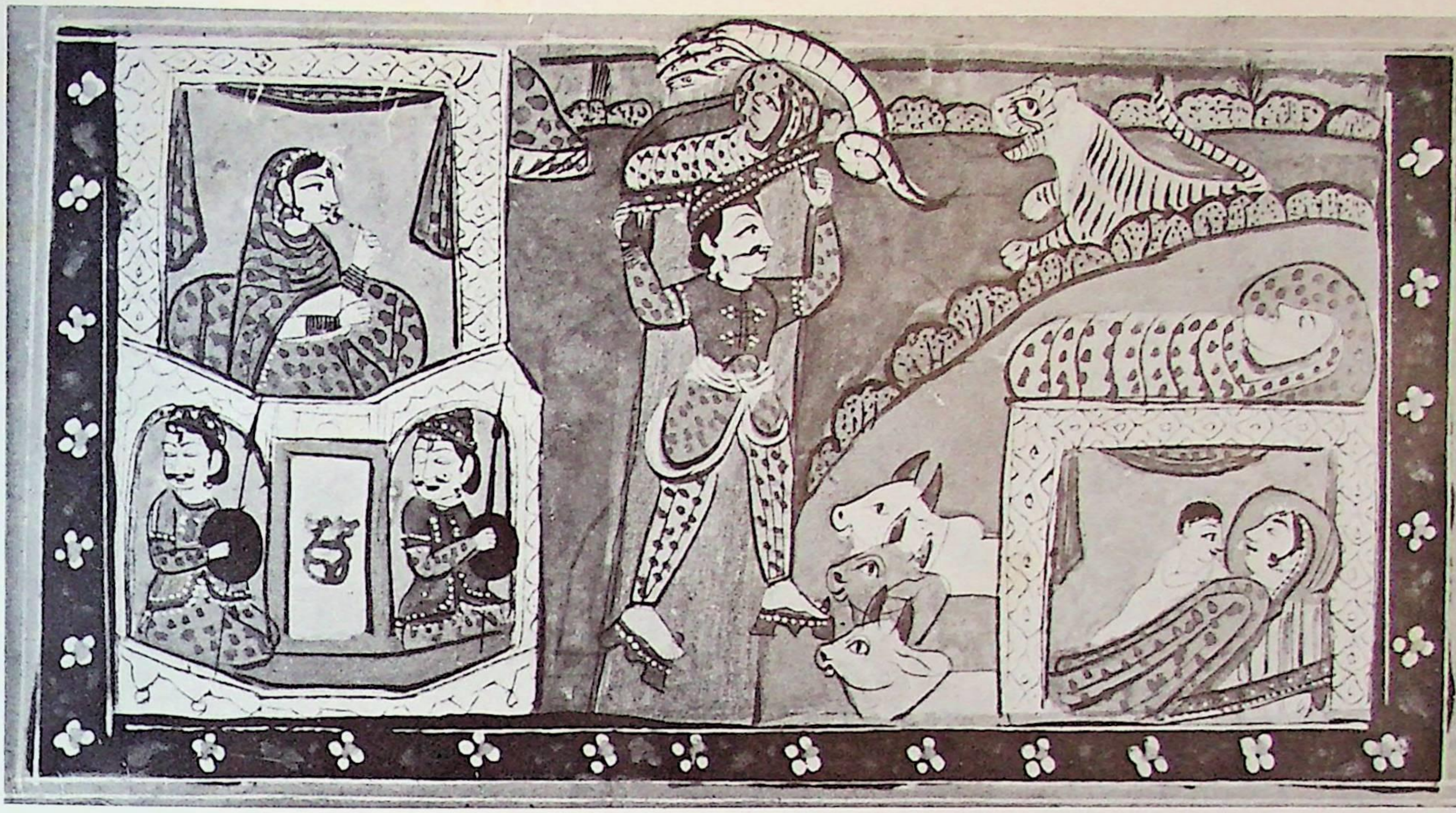


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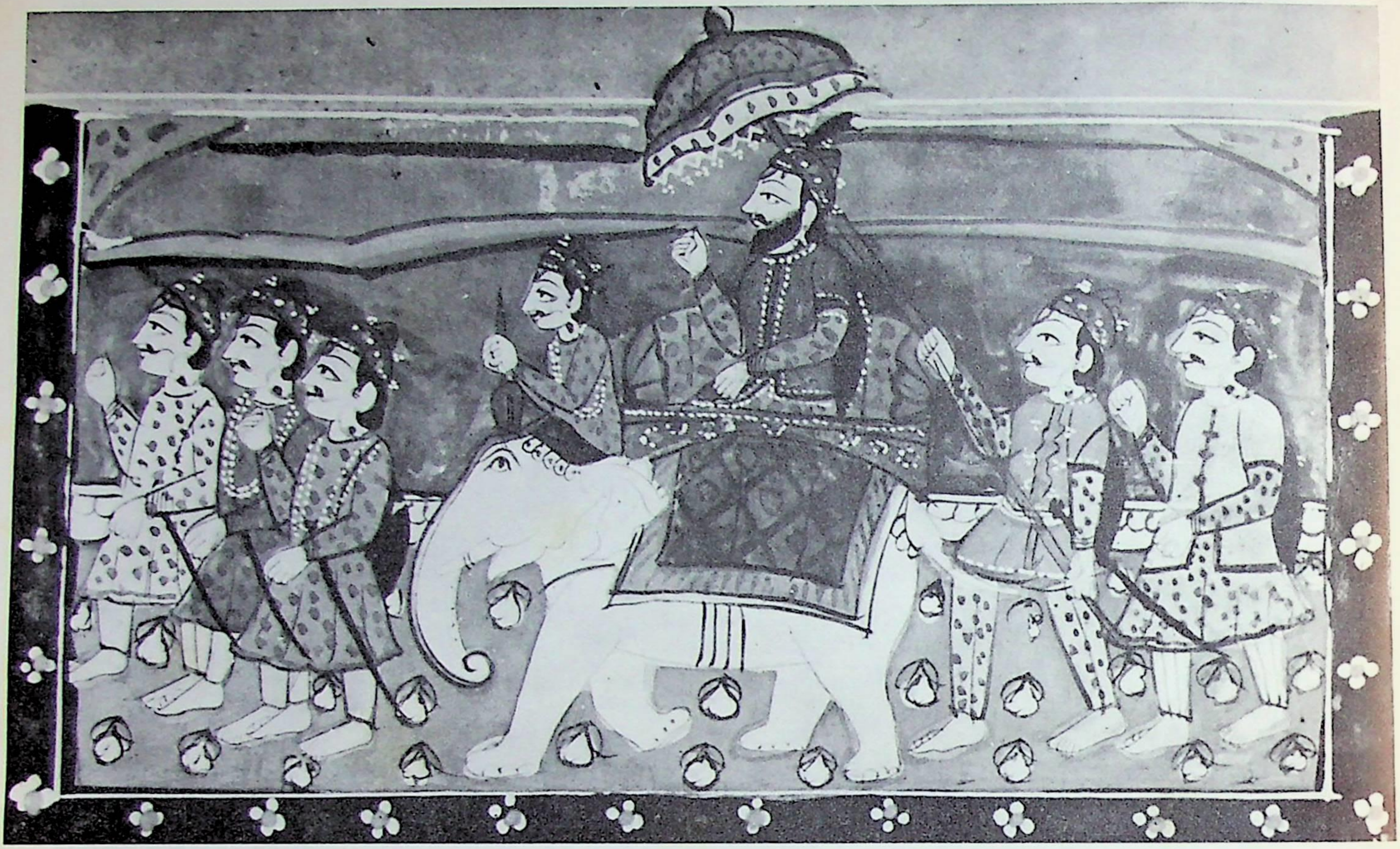


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Fig. 171. Nala going in a chariot to visit Damayantī. Nala–Damayantī set. Dr Karan Singh collection

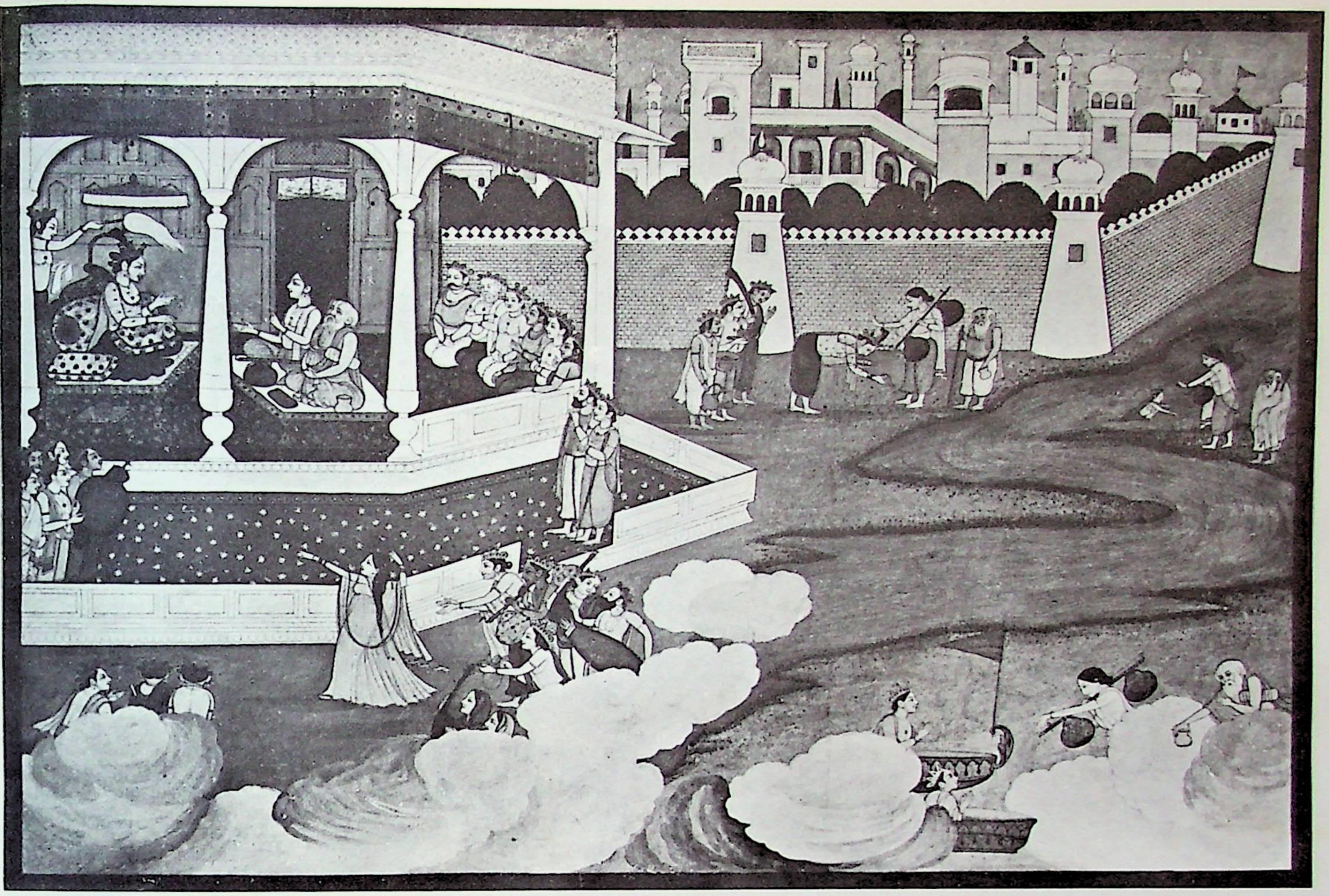


Fig. 172. Nārada arriving at Nala's palace. Nala–Damayantī set

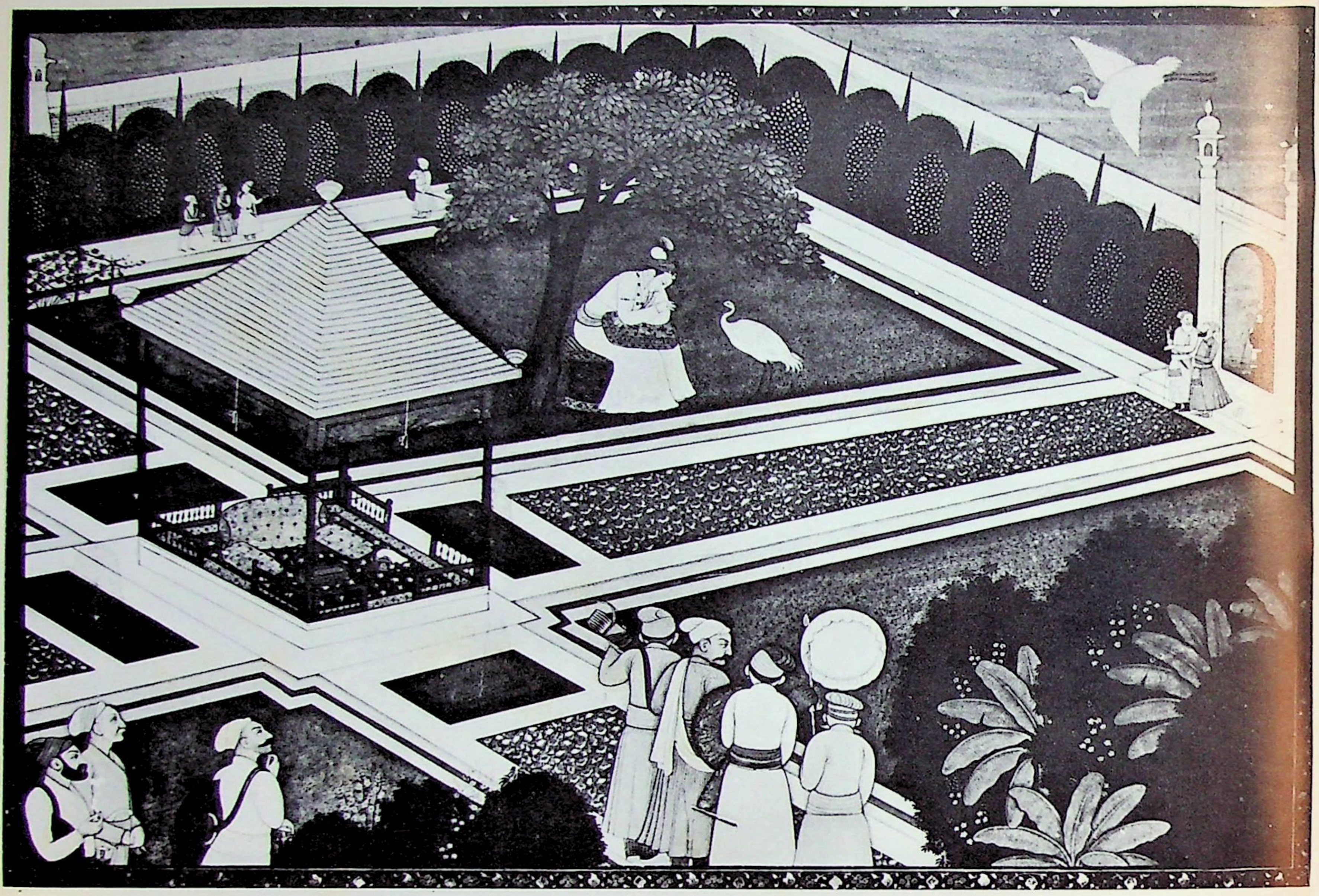


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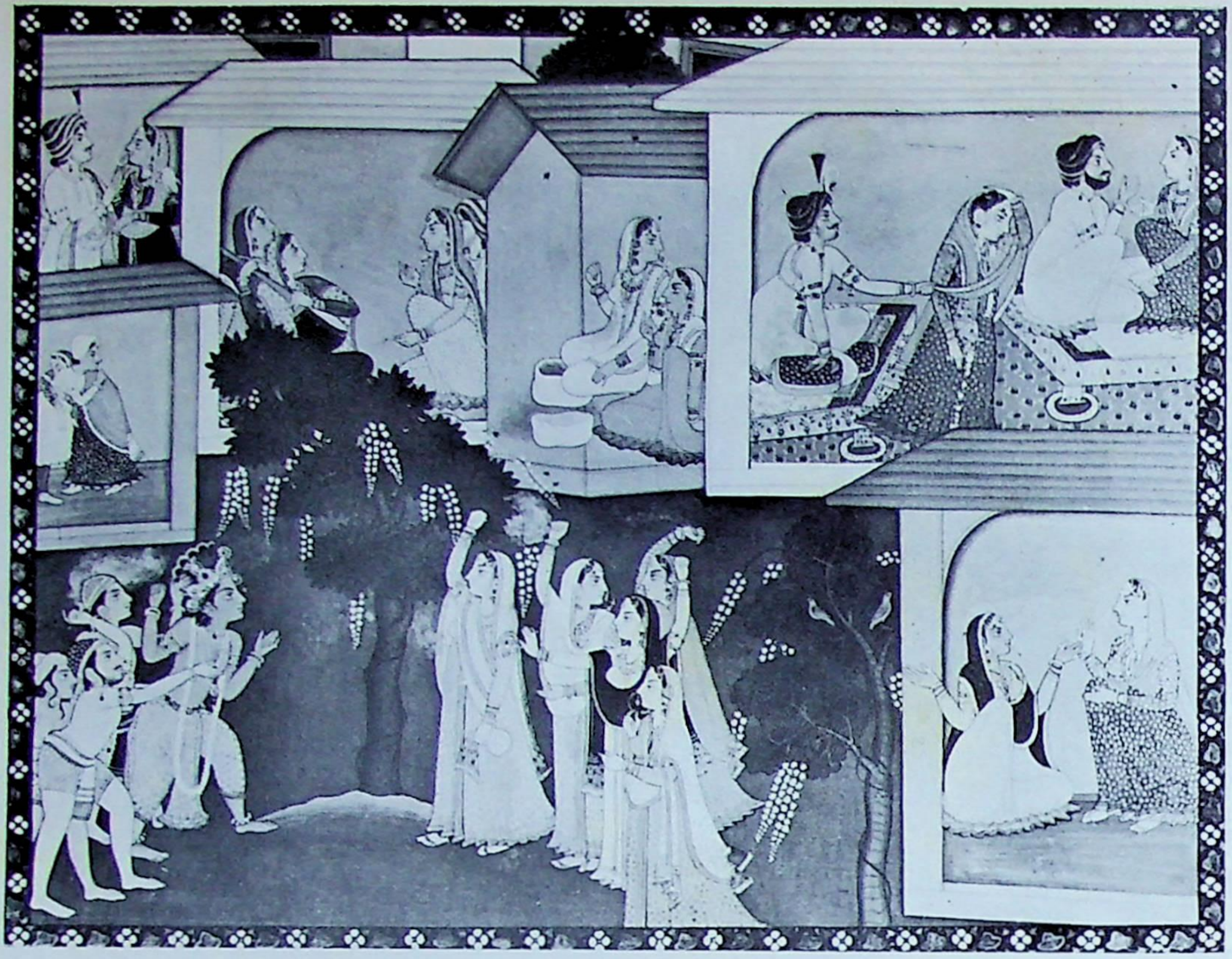


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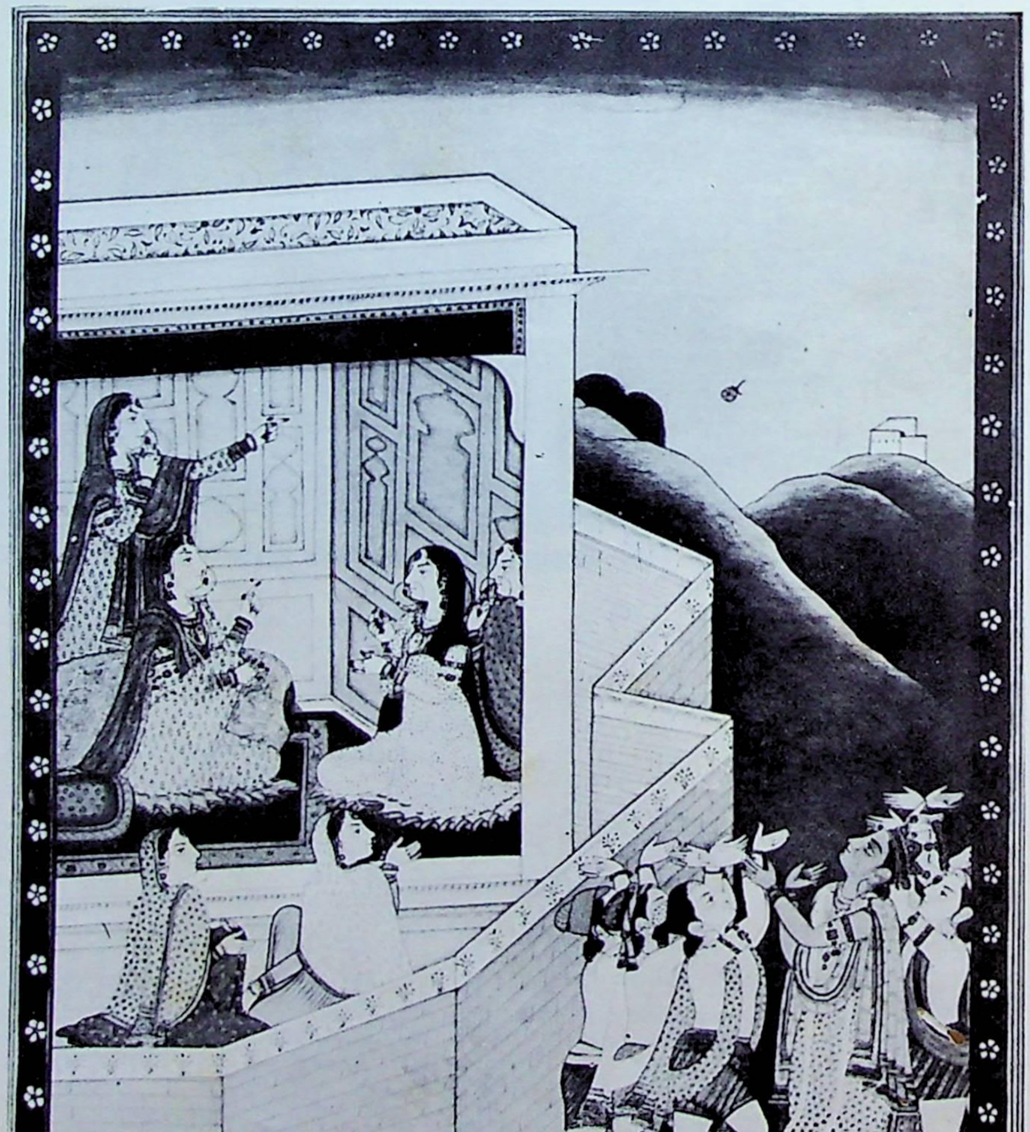


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